

WE MUST BE POLITICALLY ACTIVE—by James L. McDevitt and Jack Kroll

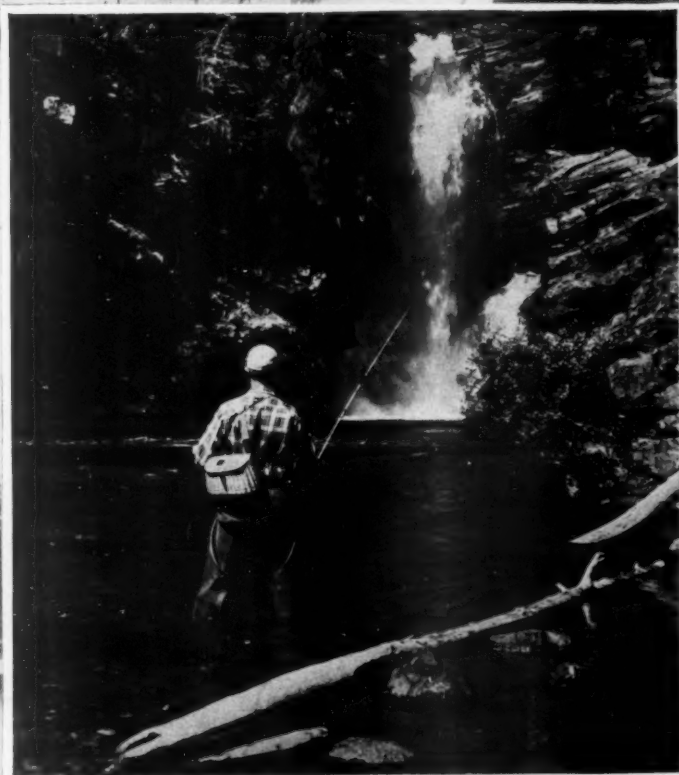
AFL CIO



American FEDERATIONIST

U. OF M. LIBRARY
RACKHAM BLDG.
DETROIT

JUL 27 1958



UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Paid Vacations
UNION ACHIEVEMENT



Have you given your dollar to COPE?

WHEN YOU GIVE A DOLLAR to help elect labor's friends, you are doing one of the things for which our unions have been formed. Political education is a legitimate trade union concern. It is *your* concern as a citizen. So give your dollar to COPE—and do it now. A dollar given to COPE is the finest investment you can make. Your contribution will help to elect candidates who deserve to be elected—men who will serve *all* the people. COPE is working for you. It needs your support to work effectively. So, if you haven't already given your dollar to COPE, please do so *today*.

AFL

A

AUGUST,

Work
ary

55

3

WE MU

LABOR

CAN CO

TIME F

PROGR

LONGE

EDITOR

SECRET

ISRAEL

THE ST

WORKI

LABOR

MARIT

FROM

WHAT

Publ
Was
—Be
tion.
Sect



American

FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

AUGUST, 1956

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 63, No. 8

In This Issue

WE MUST BE POLITICALLY ACTIVE James L. McDevitt and Jack Kroll	3
LABOR BACKS STEELWORKERS	5
CAN COMMUNIST PARTIES BE 'INDEPENDENT FROM MOSCOW'? Jay Lovestone	6
TIME FOR A FRESH START	11
PROGRESS ON THE RAILROADS	12
LONGER VACATIONS ARE COMING	14
EDITORIAL	16
SECRETARY SCHNITZLER CONDEMNS REACTIONARIES	17
ISRAEL—LAND OF DEMOCRATIC PIONEERS ..	18
THE STORY OF THE RUBBER WORKERS	21
WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE	26
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS	30
MARITIME DEPARTMENT NAMES HARRY O'REILLY	30
FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS.....	31
WHAT THEY SAY	32

Labor Day

It seems to me that union members are getting away from the true spirit of Labor Day. To many it is just another holiday—to sleep late or spend at the beach. With a great number of our younger members, this is the only kind of Labor Day they have ever known. Its real meaning just goes by the board.

Labor Day was founded as a national holiday set aside to honor the working people of our nation. Union men and women campaigned vigorously to get the holiday. Why? Not just to obtain a day off from work, but to bring forcibly to the mind of the public that labor is organized, that it makes up a considerable segment of the population, that it has aims and ambitions—and that it is to be reckoned with.

And so on the first Labor Day, September 5, 1882, more than 10,000 trade unionists gathered in Union Square in New York City and paraded down Broadway carrying placards which demanded an eight-hour day.

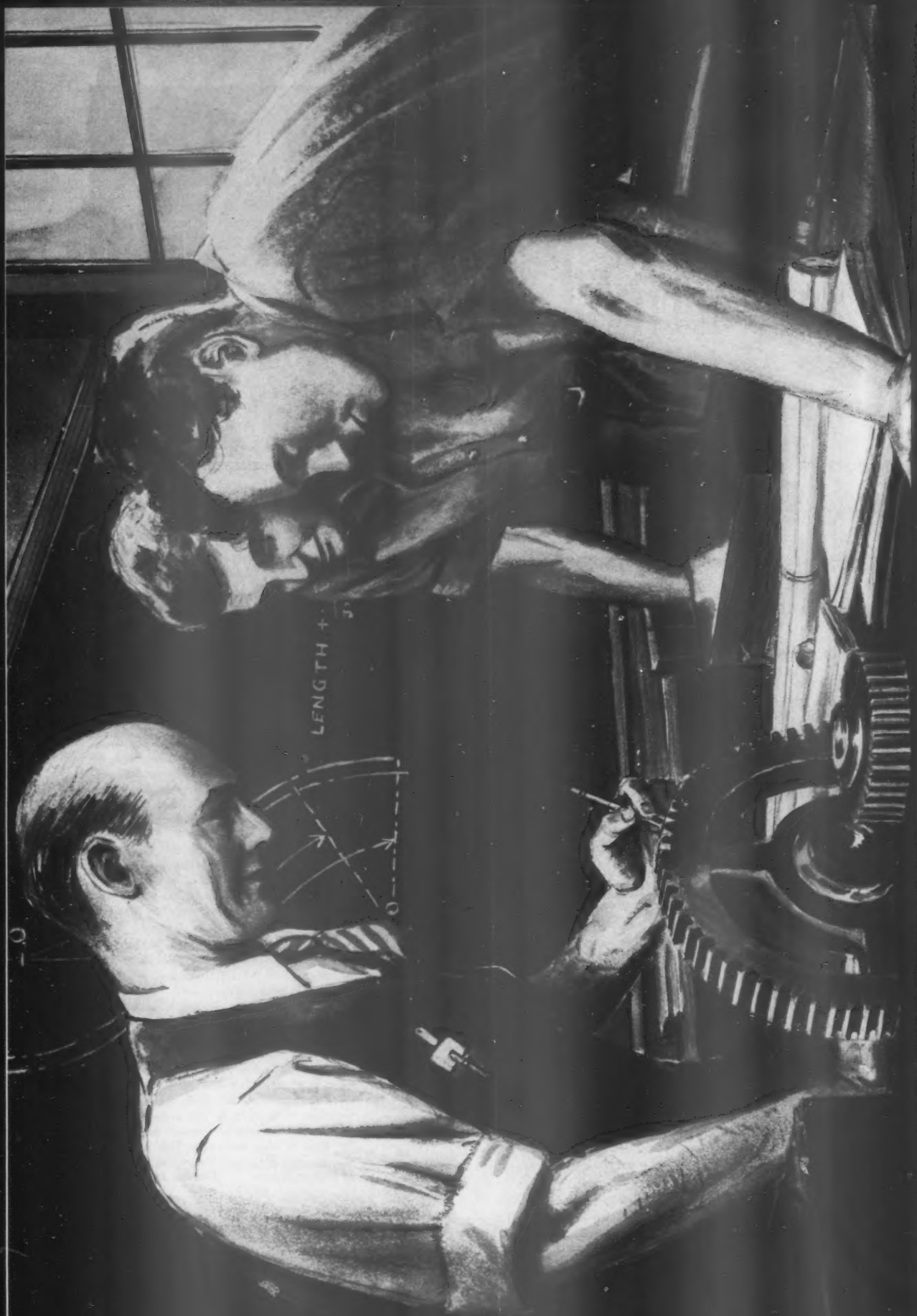
From that day onward through the years, when organized labor was growing little by little, and at great sacrifice, Labor Day was the big day for union people. They prepared for weeks, and on the day itself marched proudly in parade for all to see—and remember.

The picture has changed. Last year there was hardly a large city in the country that had a demonstration of note. There were a few real union celebrations, but these seemed to be few and far between, compared to the old days.

Are we growing soft? Are we too lazy or complacent to get out and show that we are proud to be unionists, proud to honor our labor pioneers and, incidentally, show the world that we are unionists? Is there a connection between the attitude of lethargy that lets us ignore Labor Day and the growth of anti-labor legislation?

Now is the time to think about these things—to remember that our enemies never relax and we can't afford to either. Now is the time to awaken to our responsibilities and to the dangers all around us. Now is the time to plan for Labor Day and make the day and the deeds reflect the real spirit of true unionism. *Gordon M. Freeman.*

Published monthly by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at 815 Sixteenth St., Washington 6, D. C. Editor—George Meany. Director of Publications—Henry C. Fleisher. Managing Editor—Bernard Tassler. Assistant Editor—Fred Ross. Subscriptions, \$2 a year in U.S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Entered as second-class matter at Washington and accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided in Section 1103, Act of Oct. 3, 1917. No paid advertising is ever accepted. No material may be reprinted without permission.



FOUR Bush
consi
interests,
U.S. Rep
votes out
fast.

In Phi
incumbent
and Legi
vote mar
publican
tied up
that this
cause the
district lo
two rivals
a coin fo
from a b
slips. TH
won and
eral Asse
ture's Co
whether
was valid

These
is importa
to the po
exercise l
he can v
must reg
man or w
but can't
register is
ing Elect
neighbor
vote any

It is
make cer
and that
co-work

AUGUST

WE MUST BE

Politically Active

By JAMES L. McDEVITT and JACK KROLL
National Co-Directors, Committee on Political Education

FOUR years ago Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut, who has consistently voted against labor's interests, beat Abe Ribicoff—then a U.S. Representative—by only 29,000 votes out of almost 1,100,000 votes cast.

In Philadelphia, the Democratic incumbent Assemblyman in the Second Legislative District held a one-vote margin of victory over his Republican opponent. But a local judge tied up the contest when he ruled that this one vote was invalid because the voter had not lived in the district long enough to qualify. The two rivals met at City Hall and tossed a coin for first draw for low number from a box containing numbered slips. The Republican candidate won and took his seat in the General Assembly, while the legislature's Contest Committee decided whether the one vote in dispute was valid.

These cases demonstrate why it is important for every citizen to go to the polls on Election Day and exercise his right to vote. Before he can vote, however, the citizen must register. The well-meaning man or woman who wants to vote but can't because he or she did not register is just as voiceless in making Election Day decisions as is his neighbor who doesn't care enough to vote anyway.

It is vitally important that you make certain you are eligible to vote, and that your relatives, neighbors, co-workers and friends also are reg-

istered. This year the American people will elect a President, a Vice-President, 435 Congressmen and thirty-five United States Senators. Great decisions, involving millions of human lives and hundreds of billions of dollars, hinge upon the outcome of the 1956 elections. Whether they will be good decisions or disastrous decisions will be determined by your votes.

In 1954, Richard Neuberger of Oregon won election to the U.S. Senate by only 2,500 votes out of 569,000 cast. That majority amounted to less than one vote per precinct. In Montana, Senator James Murray, like Neuberger a friend of trade union-

just a fraction more than one vote per precinct. In Wyoming, Milward Simpson was elected governor by a margin of less than two votes in each of the state's 670 precincts.

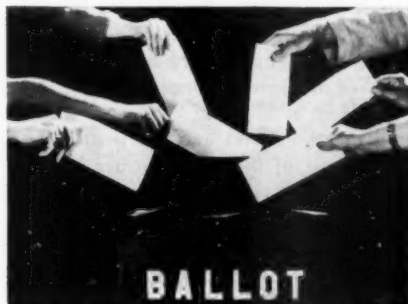
Here are more examples of elections pointing up the necessity of registering and voting:

In Michigan, Patrick McNamara, a 100 per cent liberal, nosed out former Senator Homer Ferguson, a 100 per cent conservative, by 39,000 votes of the 2,100,000 which were cast. In New Jersey, Clifford Case won election to the Senate with only 48.7 per cent of the vote, which was split among six candidates. Of the 1,118,000 ballots cast for him and Charles Howell, Case received a majority of just 3,400.

In four close Congressional races in Kentucky, Montana, New Hampshire and New York, Republican candidates won their House seats by margins ranging from one to three votes per ward or precinct. And in West Virginia a Democrat defeated a Republican incumbent by the margin of one vote per precinct.

With this record, we are certain that every trade unionist in America understands the absolute need of being politically active.

By "politically active" we mean registering in order to be eligible to vote, casting ballots at the voting booth on Election Day and contributing voluntarily \$1 (or more) to the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE). COPE's fund-raising



Just a few votes have spelled the difference between victory and defeat in many important U.S. elections.

ism, was reelected by only 1,700 out of 227,000 votes. A switch of a single vote in each precinct would have meant Murray's defeat.

In New York, Averell Harriman was elected governor by a margin of 11,000 votes in 10,000 precincts—

drive for 1956 is not as encouraging as it should be.

Working people, seeing political campaign pledges turn from sweet cream to sour milk in the last three and one-half years, have learned the hard way that the only way to get good legislation is to elect their friends by defeating their enemies.

The best way to help elect pro-labor candidates to Congress, courthouse and city hall is to aid them in meeting their increasingly heavy campaign expenses. And the best way to do that is to contribute voluntarily to COPE.

The Committee on Political Education is the political arm of the AFL-CIO, established at the first constitutional convention last December to help bring to the many millions of AFL-CIO members, their families and their friends a greater realization of the important and necessary part that each individual should take in the responsibilities of democratic government at the local, state and national levels.

These responsibilities are an inherent right in this country, but in many countries today they are only a fond dream of days gone by or wishful hopes of some day in the future. To preserve, to protect and to further our democratic government should be a thought uppermost in the minds of each and every one of us.

So that our members, their families and their friends will vote and vote wisely is a basic reason for the establishment of the Committee on Political Education within the framework of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

We do not attempt to tell or even suggest to our members whom they should vote for or against. We do, however, present to our members facts about the issues which concern them as citizens, as working men and women, as heads of households and as members of labor organizations—and ask them to vote in the light of these facts.

The issues are not narrow issues but those which are of concern to all of the people, in all sections of our country, in all walks of life.



Next winter a new Congress will meet. Many reactionaries now holding Senate and House seats won't be back in 1957 if we remember to register and vote.

The issues we discuss are issues that not only affect the economic stability of our country, the expansion of our economy, our position in international affairs and the standard of living of our people but also those which ultimately affect the very root of our society, the family and the ability of our people to preserve and enhance the American way of life for our children.

We are just as concerned with adequate school facilities for our children as we are with an issue which would curtail our collective bargaining rights. We are just as concerned with the problem of helping our friends overseas as we are with how a state legislature handles the important problem of workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance.

We are just as concerned with the problem of Mexican "wetback" labor in the Southwest as we are with the problems of the dairy farmer in upstate New York. We are just as concerned with preserving the civil service system for government employees as we are with preserving the national forests and the natural resources for use by all the people as against exploitation by selfish interests.

We are as opposed to unequal federal income taxes as we are opposed to unequal opportunity for any of our people because of race, creed or color.

We believe that the dignity, the well-being, the security and the freedom from economic fear of each per-

son should be the first concern of our legislators, whether in the state capitals or Washington.

We have mentioned many issues—issues which concern all of us—and each of these issues is decided by legislation. If our people realize that these issues are considered daily in Congress and in our state legislatures, they can understand clearly that they affect their daily lives.

Our people can be wise voters only when they understand how their representatives will vote on these issues—whether or not their representatives represent them or represent the big campaign contributors.

So that our people will understand the issues facing them, we periodically publish literature explaining each current issue.

In order that our people may know how their Congressmen and Senators voted on key issues, we also publish a voting record covering the votes of each Senator and each member of the House of Representatives. When the voting record is prepared, the same test votes are used for all members regardless of party affiliation and regardless of the state or Congressional district they represent. The votes are taken from the *Congressional Record*, which is the official daily record of the proceedings of Congress. We have never had a complaint from any Senator or Congressman as to the authenticity of our voting records.

These voting records enable our members to inform themselves concerning the records of their representatives when election time approaches. With the information in his possession, the voter can vote wisely.

Since our inception we have been a non-partisan organization. We support men and women of each party solely on the basis of their voting records. We feel that only in this way can the full voice of the people be heard in the legislative halls in Washington and in the states.

WE ARE often asked: "Just how is the dollar I give to COPE handled, and what happens to it?"

Your dollar to COPE does not pay for COPE's year-round educational expenses. The AFL-CIO pays for

those.
tion to
Your
—to h
dates f
For
COPE
lar coll
comple
as requ
contrib
local an
cal Edu
by nat
candida
Some
help a
newspap
line for
for trav
or for t
releases
radio or
pay for
his oppo
There
things th
is used f
Never
legislati
men. To
must be
expenses
pay cam
ute volu
Political
as that.
Anoth
ing man
ask us i
taking p
proper th
The b
given by
Meany.
"We
battlegro
"If they
can pass
and dest
ment, th
selves is
where th
So the
members
politics i
Legisla
some stat
consin it
solicitati
by union
Supporte
measures
AUGUST,

those. Your dollar is not a subscription to a political paper.

Your dollar is for one purpose only—to help elect Congressional candidates friendly to the working people.

For your dollar you receive your COPE membership card. Every dollar collected is reported monthly. A complete report is made to Congress as required by law. Of every dollar contributed to COPE, half is used by local and state Committees on Political Education. The other half is used by national COPE to aid worthy candidates.

Some of the money will be used to help a pro-labor candidate pay for newspaper advertising, or for gasoline for the automobile he must use for travel around his state or district, or for the typist who types his news releases, or for telephone bills or for radio or television costs. It will help pay for printing the record he and his opponent have made.

There are a thousand and one things that your dollar could be and is used for.

Never forget this: To get good legislation, you need good Congressmen. To get good Congressmen, you must help them pay their campaign expenses. The best way to help them pay campaign expenses is to contribute voluntarily to the Committee on Political Education. It's as simple as that.

Another question people—including many AFL-CIO members—often ask us is this: "What about unions taking part in politics? Is that a proper thing for them to do?"

The best answer to that has been given by AFL-CIO President George Meany.

"We didn't choose the political battleground," says President Meany. "If they [anti-labor office-holders] can pass laws that hamstring, weaken and destroy the trade union movement, then our place to defend ourselves is in the same legislative halls where they passed those laws."

So the lesson is obvious: Union members have to help their friends in politics if they want security.

Legislation has been introduced in some state legislatures—and in Wisconsin it actually passed—to prohibit solicitation of campaign contributions by union members and by unions. Supporters of such unconstitutional measures argue that since corpora-



Food for the family and the prices we pay for groceries and the other necessities of life are greatly affected by the kind of Congress we elect. To protect ourselves, we must study the candidates' records and then vote wisely.

tions are barred from making political contributions, trade unions should be too.

That is a ridiculous argument. Corporations are lifeless; they have been created to make profits. Unions are groups of people who have joined together to promote their mutual interest. Such promotion, by right, permits political action.

Of course, we all know that the ban on political contributions by corporations is a laugh. Corporations dodge the ban in a dozen different ways every year. In one state automobile dealers have been forced to kick in

money to the manufacturer for politicians on the threat of having their supply of cars from the factory stopped. And many corporation executives individually spend tens of thousands of dollars to elect anti-labor candidates to Congress, legislatures, county courthouses and city halls.

Your voluntary contribution to the Committee on Political Education is valued and spent carefully. Working men and women *must* be active in political work. And unions have all the right in the world to raise funds for such activity.

See your COPE collector today.

Labor Backs Steelworkers

THE United Steelworkers of America will receive all possible assistance from the entire labor movement in the fight which has been deliberately brought on by the steel industry. This pledge has been given by the AFL-CIO Executive Committee.

At a meeting in the nation's capital, the Executive Committee adopted the following resolution:

"The Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO reaffirms the pledge of President George Meany that the United Steelworkers of America can count upon the fullest support by the entire labor movement in the current steel shutdown.

"This shutdown was caused by the steel industry to satisfy its own ulterior purposes. The companies made

certain it would occur by tendering a contract proposal to the Steelworkers' Union in the form of an ultimatum. The union sought to engage in genuine give-and-take bargaining. The companies refused. The union offered to extend its contracts for fifteen days to allow additional time for negotiations without a strike. The companies refused.

"When the companies in an industry as vital to the nation as steel combine to force a fight with the union and to attack the nation's economy, then it is in the interests of all Americans that the nature of this fight be known and that all possible assistance be given to the union. On behalf of the AFL-CIO, we pledge that this will be done."

Can Communist Parties Be 'INDEPENDENT FROM MOSCOW'?

By JAY LOVESTONE

Executive Secretary, Free Trade Union Committee, AFL-CIO

THERE is very little that is spontaneous or genuine about the June 24, 1956, statement of the Communist Party of the United States declaring its "independence from Moscow." This is a synthetic declaration, ordered by Moscow. Under instructions of Moscow, the British, Italian and French Communist Parties and Europe's No. 1 fellow-traveler, Pietro Nenni, have also made such declarations. Other Communist parties have since then done likewise.

Quite naturally, one is tempted to ask: *How* can Moscow order supposedly independent parties functioning in other countries what to do? And *why* should Moscow resort to such a weird way of doing things?

These questions appear baffling to many in the free world because they tend to apply to Communist parties the yardsticks and standards they employ in judging organizations which are political parties in the democratic sense of the word.

No Communist party is a political party in this sense. It is, therefore, necessary, first of all, to examine the particular nature, the specific character, the peculiar features that distinguish the Communist parties from other political parties in the free world.

The overriding and overwhelming pre-eminence of the Russian section of the international Communist movement has always been accepted by all other Communist parties and their fellow-travelers. This is understandable. After all, the Russian Commu-

nists, led by Lenin, were the first to triumph in their revolution. This victory, the progress achieved in Soviet consolidation and the Kremlin's increasingly important role in the international arena have given the Russian Communists immeasurable authority and prestige among Communists and their followers throughout the world.

For these reasons it has become almost second nature for Communists outside of the Soviet Union to echo and copy everything which the clique that happens to be dominant in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union says or does. For years, Communist parties everywhere have oriented themselves and behaved as auxiliaries of the already victorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Secondly, the dominant leader, or the ruling clique, of the Soviet Communist Party, at any particular moment, has always insisted on, and exploited, such behavior of the Communist parties outside the Soviet borders for its own factional advantage and interests. As Russian Communist factional struggles became more violent and destructive, as inner party groups were defeated and annihilated, as the base of leadership in the Soviet Communist Party narrowed, this exploitation of the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union for enhancing the Kremlin's ruling clique interests became established Comintern practice and policy.

Thus, in 1929, the leadership of the American Communist Party, which had the overwhelming support of the organization in the United States, was purged by Stalin himself. This Russian purge of the organization in the United States came primarily because these leaders were suspected of being sympathetic to Bukharin, then the principal ideological opponent of Stalin.

After Stalin thus drove thousands of members out of the Communist Party of the United States, he went on to foist upon it a general secretary and other leaders who were his supine henchmen. The latter hastened to hail all the programs Stalin subsequently launched against his opponents in the Soviet Communist Party and throughout the Comintern. The other sections of the Comintern lost no time in imitating and copying the hooliganism of Stalin by mass party expulsions and drastic purges.

AFTER years of devastating factional struggles inside the Soviet Communist Party, it became a party of robots—a party of total political automation. Only Stalin and the small clique of yes-men around him counted. Stalin fully understood what this robotization meant for the functioning, future behavior and inner life of the Soviet Communist Party. That is why he had the Seventeenth Party Congress (March, 1939) abolish the mass purge. Once ideological differences, discussions and groups were no longer possible inside the Soviet Communist Party, the mass purge of hundreds of thousands of Communist Party members and millions of so-called *kulaks* was entirely unnecessary.

Thus had the mass purge "outlived its historical usefulness"! It had even begun to engulf Stalin's closest collaborators and to threaten the very physical existence of the Communist Party.

Under conditions in which narrow cliques or power-mad individuals replaced ideological groups, the rulers of the Bolshevik Party found it necessary to have a different sort of purge—the purge of picked and strategically placed followers of a particularly ambitious individual leader

Jay Lovestone was formerly secretary of the Communist Party in the United States. In 1929 he was expelled for fighting against Stalinism and has since then become one of the leading fighters against communism of every hue and stripe.

whom S
tourage
between
ria and
mass pu
support
Bukharin

Between
between
very im
cal diff
chev an
between
were no
ences.

over the
a stage
succeed
omniscie

This i
nal orga
totalitar
cially tr
which o
ship ove
life and

In thi
to note
paying
ice to th
leadersh
for him
alty to t
nated pl
tical op
might co
idea of
cient co
his conv

Today
faithfull
nation o
tration
Here we
demotio
kov and
"retirem
tive life
ernment
wherefor
the exec
colleagu

WH
Co
Union
Commun
changed
character
iology,
tioning.
blind an
also ha
minded
They

AUGUST

whom Stalin or his immediate entourage feared. This is the difference between the Khrushchev purge of Beria and his henchmen and Stalin's mass purges of numerous ideological supporters of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Bukharin in the Bolshevik ranks.

Between Bukharin and Stalin and between Trotsky and Stalin there were very important political and ideological differences. But between Khrushchev and Malenkov or Molotov and between Khrushchev and Beria there were no serious ideological differences. Theirs was primarily a clash over the amassing of power—actually a stage in the conflict over who is to succeed Stalin as the omnipotent and omniscient party dictator.

This is the inevitable logic of internal organization development in all totalitarian parties. This is especially true for a Communist Party which directs an ironclad dictatorship over the people in every walk of life and human endeavor.

In this connection, it is necessary to note that, under the very cover of paying continuous and loud lip service to the principle of collective party leadership, Stalin grabbed total power for himself. While proclaiming loyalty to this "principle," Stalin eliminated physically every potential political opponent of his, everyone who might conceivably be able to have an idea of his own or demonstrate sufficient courage to work and fight for his convictions.

Today Khrushchev is following faithfully this Stalin pattern of elimination of leaders and gradual concentration of power in his own hands. Here we have the key to the political demotion and humiliation of Malenkov and Molotov and the most recent "retirement" of Kaganovich from active life in the Soviet Party and government. Here we have the why and wherefore of Khrushchev's ordering the execution of Beria and his closest colleagues.

WHILE this transformation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was going on, the other Communist parties were also being changed in their composition and character, in their anatomy and physiology, in their structure and functioning. They also became parties of blind and mechanical followers. They also hardly attracted any critical-minded individuals.

They became primarily para-mili-

tary outfits organized to execute Kremlin commands and to make shifts of Communist party line quickly and with least loss of members, regardless of how sharp the turn was.

Only Communist parties thus molded could weather as they did the shift brought into painful relief by the Stalin-Hitler Pact and the present anti-Stalin campaign. Only organizations hammered into such shape and malleability could hail the Stalin-Hitler Pact which led to World War II as a great service to world peace. This explains why and how the Communist parties throughout the world



JAY LOVESTONE

—which had for years boasted about their militant anti-fascism—could commend Nazi Germany as a force for peace and condemn the Allied democracies as warmongers and aggressors.

In the same spirit and for the same reason, the Communists in the United States and other democracies tried to sabotage armament production. They sought to help the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis with which their Soviet "paradise" was then pact-bound. This is what the Communists did—until Hitler forced Stalin to change his line by attacking him.

This process of political automation which has been going on for years inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was mechanically and rigidly carried over by Stalin into all other Communist parties. The Communist party of every country was transformed completely into a puppet outfit slavishly and mechanically supporting all Soviet foreign and domestic policies.

Thus were the internal cliques, intrigues and conflicts afflicting the Soviet Communist Party mechanically transplanted into and automatically reflected inside every other Communist party. Every non-Russian party leadership was soon turned into a rubber stamp of the dominant ruler of the Communist party outside the Soviet Union, of the international Communist movement as a whole.

When Stalin decided during World War II to liquidate the Comintern, the very ones who were its top functionaries and titular leaders did not know about the Kremlin ukase ordering the end of their organization. They learned about the "demise" only after they had read its "death" notice in *Pravda*.

IN VIEW of this total political automation, it was not so difficult for the very ones whom Stalin had put into the "leadership" of the various Communist parties to denounce him as a murderer, sex pervert and arsonist—once the clique controlling the Soviet Communist Party turned on Stalin. The "leaderships" of the other Communist parties almost automatically and with very few exceptions followed the same course of denouncing Stalin, whom they had for many years sycophantically hailed as a super-god.

This fantastic turnabout and repudiation of themselves was not very difficult for those with years of experience in echoing, aping and supporting the policies and maneuvers of whoever happened to rule the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at any moment.

It is very instructive to note that all the Communist parties outside of the Soviet Union not only fell in line with the denunciations of Stalin as a demon. They fell in line with equal precision in supporting the entire international strategical and tactical line laid down for world communism by the Twentieth Congress (co-existence, united and popular fronts, different roads to "socialism," etc.). This habit of automatic reflection of Soviet Communist Party life and regimen has become a cardinal characteristic, sort of second nature, for Communist organizations throughout the world.

It is this inherent feature of Communist (Leninist-Stalinist) organizational structure and functioning that accounts for the speed, skill and

shamelessness with which the Communist parties outside the U.S.S.R.—the puppets and dependents of the present Kremlin regime—are now carrying out the instructions from Moscow to proclaim their “independence” from Moscow.

The very manner, the very timing, the whole international sequence and chorus of this proclamation of “independence” only demonstrate anew the brazenness and cynicism of the real rulers of world communism. The very occasion for and manner of these Communist parties proclaiming their “independence from Moscow” provide crushing confirmation of how hopelessly dependent these organizations are on whatever clique happens to be dominant in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Obviously, their dependence has taken on a sort of “new look.” However different the countenance of this dependence may appear, its contents are essentially unchanged.

The “declaration of independence” is not so new. After all, once the Comintern was declared dissolved, every Communist Party was “on its own” and, therefore, “independent.” The relations between every Communist party and Moscow—under such circumstances—could be only bilateral. This is exactly the relationship that the latest Communist Party of the United States declaration proposes to have with the Soviet Communist Party and other Communist parties. Other Communist parties have already followed with the same proposal.

Here we must note that several Comintern officers, who have since broken with Moscow, have disclosed that, in spite of the formal dissolution of the Comintern, an international Communist organization did continue to function under the direction of the Kremlin. So history will repeat itself after the more recent dissolution of the Cominform, which covered only a limited area.

CONTRADICTORY? Confusing? Weird? Well, let Lenin himself explain this “mystery,” this flexibility and duplicity of Communist tactics, this readiness on the part of Communists to turn somersault, to lie, to resort to all sorts of frauds, to wallow in the mud in order to build their most cherished instrument—the party which is their engine of subversion and destruction of democracy.



Said Lenin:

“It is necessary to be able to . . . agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of stratagems, maneuvers and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge in order to penetrate the trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs. . . . Of course, in Western Europe, which is particularly saturated with inveterate legalist, constitutionalist, bourgeois-democratic prejudices, it is more difficult to carry on such work. But it can and must be carried on, and carried on systematically.”

(*Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. Pp. 95-96.)

Soviet imperialist interests and the interests of the present dominant clique in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demand that the peoples of the Soviet Empire should believe that there is something really new and better about the post-Stalin regime. These interests demand that the outside world, the non-Soviet world, particularly the *Western democracies and the labor movements of the free world*, should believe that the Soviet “new look” is something

genuinely different, something truly new and better.

Why is this so? Stalin’s domestic and foreign policies had already exhausted their usefulness even before the Nineteenth Soviet Communist Party Congress, held in October, 1952. Stalin himself had begun to recognize that his political and his organization technique had run their course both at home and abroad. Such recognition by Stalin was reflected in the decisions of the Nineteenth Party Congress.

The roots of the present Khrushchev strategy and tactics and the basis of the current Soviet domestic and foreign policies are to be found in the line laid down by Stalin himself at and for the Nineteenth Soviet Communist Party Congress. What is really new in the U.S.S.R. since this Congress is that the Khrushchev leadership—which was created by Stalin—is now trying to avoid all blame and condemnation by the Soviet peoples and the outside world for the disastrous moral, political and economic consequences of Stalinism.

The K
tinue to
political
of Lenin
totalitaria
of world
chev lead
know th
ods and
revitalize
nist Party
is its eng
economic
tural life
No one
belittle th
which the
U.S.S.R.
ational Co
these cha
Khrushche
strengthen
Communism
tion of th
rent critic
These
and stream
world Com
enable it
effectively
tieth Com
of greater
tion, more
the conqu
social dem
labor orga

SIGNIFIC
they
chev and
moving to
steps whic
surely to
gressive C

The Khrushchev leadership continues to be loyal to the fundamental political and organization principles of Leninism-Stalinism—that is, to totalitarian communism and its goal of world domination. But the Khrushchev leadership is realistic enough to know that it must rely on new methods and different tactics in order to revitalize and improve the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is its engine of total power over the economic, military, political and cultural life of the Soviet Empire.

No one should seek to deny or even belittle the significance of the changes which they are making inside the U.S.S.R. and throughout the international Communist movement. But these changes are being made by Khrushchev and his clique solely to strengthen their grip on the Soviet Communist Party, to bolster the position of the Soviet Union in the current critical international situation.

These changes aim to modernize and streamline the machinery of the world Communist movement so as to enable it to carry out all the more effectively the new line of the Twentieth Communist Congress—the line of greater infiltration and penetration, more extensive subversion and the conquest of the free trade unions, social democratic parties and other labor organizations in the free world.

SIGNIFICANT as these changes are, they do not prove that Khrushchev and his collected leadership are moving toward liberalism and taking steps which will lead even slowly yet surely to the replacement of the aggressive Communist totalitarian dic-

tatorship with a democratic system of government dedicated to living in peace with all other nations.

Khrushchev and his aides realize that the new times call for a new approach. They realize that the new tasks demand that Communist parties drop their old methods of work, break with their former practically open avowal of loyal subservience to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet government which it controls. Here we have one of the principal reasons for the maneuver of pretended and pretentious “independence from Moscow” now being made by all Communist parties.

But it would be a mistake to consider this formal and noisy disavowal of dependence on and subservience to Moscow as *only a maneuver*—as merely formal compliance with orders from Moscow. It is all that, but it is also much more. Even more important than the Moscow-dictated maneuver itself is the reason for the Kremlin making it at this time. In this instance, the *why* of the action is even more important than the significant action itself.

The Khrushchev leadership is compelled to make this sweeping maneuver in the ranks of world communism for basically the same reason which impelled it to resort to the denigration of Stalin. The Kremlin ruling clique is trying to preserve the essence and substance of Stalinism within the U.S.S.R. and throughout world communism, while seeking to blur or disown its crudest and most obviously repulsive features.

Decades of bestiality, political depravity, moral degradation and hu-

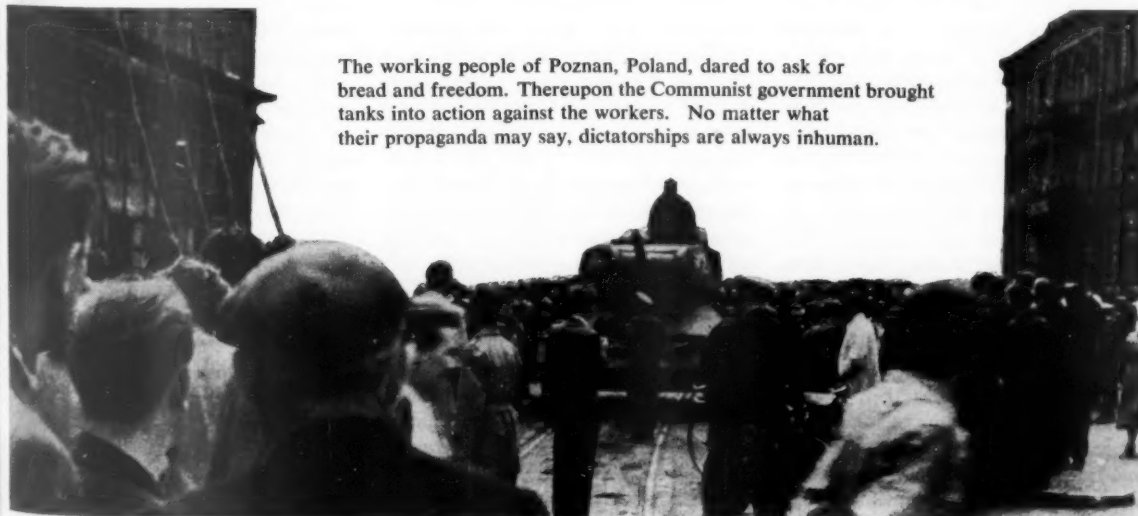
man enslavement have revealed the hideous nature of Soviet and world communism, its degrading organization and its reprehensible methods of functioning. These dark decades have produced a soil fertile for the seeds of disintegration of international communism as an ideology, as a universal philosophy, as a *Weltanschauung*.

Khrushchev and his aides are fully aware of this. They are trying to check this trend toward the disintegration of communism as an ideology of enchantment or an avenue of escape by making certain superficial and surface changes in their methods of rule and leadership, in their strategy and tactics, in their control of the Communist parties outside the U.S.S.R. They are doing this in order to preserve and promote the overriding aim of communism which, under Khrushchev no less than under Lenin or Stalin, remains the conquest of the world and its transformation along the lines of the Soviet pattern.

WE CANNOT warn too strongly against confusing the moral and political corrosion of communism as an ideology with the corrosion of the Communist dictatorship as a political power system. The two are related. But they are not identical. There are elements of serious disintegration in communism as an ideology. But, at this moment, there are no important signs of disintegration of communism as a political power system within the Soviet Union or in any of its satellites.

The ruthlessness and dispatch with which the Warsaw puppet regime re-

The working people of Poznan, Poland, dared to ask for bread and freedom. Thereupon the Communist government brought tanks into action against the workers. No matter what their propaganda may say, dictatorships are always inhuman.



cently crushed the revolt of the Poznan workers for bread and freedom show that Moscow continues to control the machinery of the world Communist conspiracy. Moscow continues to inspire, direct and finance this worldwide subversive conspiracy and fifth column apparatus.

But in this control Moscow is bound to face new and serious complications and difficulties. We must never forget that, though all Communists and Communist parties continue to owe their first loyalty to the Soviet dictatorship, they are, especially in the Western democracies, also subjected to the influence of other forces.

The effects of Communist ideological disintegration cannot be helpful to the Communist political power system. However, the Communist power system can be used effectively to counteract the manifestations of ideological disintegration. Khrushchev is now using very effectively his giant political power-system for this purpose. In this the top boss of Soviet and world communism has been greatly helped by two factors: (1) the failure of the free world to exploit the moral and political bankruptcy of communism as an ideology, and (2) the readiness of too many in the free world to swallow the Soviet "new look," hook, line and sinker.

The move to have each Communist party publicly proclaim its "independence" from Moscow is calculated to eradicate, or at least to halt, the trend toward the disintegration of communism as an ideology. It is easier for a robotized Communist outfit which proclaims its being "free from Russian control" to serve the interests of Soviet foreign policy and enhance the prestige of the Kremlin rulers than for an outfit that can be easily labeled "made-in-Moscow."

To prove their "independence," all Communist parties will, henceforth, be permitted, upon specific instructions from their masters in Moscow, to "differ" from and "criticize" certain particular Soviet actions. This move seeks also to allay the discontent and the dismay which undoubtedly existed in the various Communist parties, especially after the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin.

However, as long as their parties are Leninist, Communist, they will never disavow the basic aims of communism. They will never oppose or even question the fundamental inter-

ests and basic line of the totalitarian Soviet government. They will never dilute their essential primacy of loyalty to the Soviet ruling party and its dominant clique.

Moscow is taking a calculated risk in this audacious maneuver. Some "comrades" in the free world will fall by the wayside. The recruiting of new members will certainly be slowed down in this area. For a while recruitment may even be brought to a grinding halt. But since the Communist Party is essentially a paramilitary cadre organization, it can afford such a halt for a period of time.

Through this new "independence from Moscow" line, the Kremlin aims to facilitate the Communist development of united and popular front strategy and tactics. Through these tactics Moscow's Communists hope to gain new and fresh recruits from Socialist, labor and liberal ranks.

Moscow is sure that the winning

KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON!
KNOW WHAT THE NEWS MEANS!

Listen regularly to

EDWARD MORGAN

and

JOHN W. VANDERCOOK

ABC RADIO
Coast to Coast

of such recruits and the success of the popular front policy will soon again bring Communists into the cabinets of Western governments. Moscow is confident that the "independent" Communist parties will find it easier at least to lead these governments toward much less suspicion or even to far greater faith in the Khrushchev regime.

The naive attitude of French Foreign Minister Pineau toward the Khrushchev regime now at the helm of Soviet imperialism, the loose talk in Washington and London about Moscow's readiness to remove the sources and causes of world tension, the deliberate weakening of NATO and their own military forces by some Western powers all confirm the marked success which the Kremlin has already had in hoodwinking Western statesmanship. The latter

has, unfortunately, shown a terrific capacity for wishful thinking.

To permit the various foreign appendages of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to talk about or, in a limited sense, even to act their "independence" from Moscow is a very small price for the Kremlin to pay—if, in return, it should be able to plant its fifth columnists and dupes in important posts in Western democratic and neutralist governments.

Indeed, this is a very small price to pay for making it easier for the Communist parties and their followers to soften and undermine the will and the determination of the free world to reject and resist the basic aims of Soviet communism—the fundamental, aggressive, totalitarian aims which have not been dropped or even modified in the least.

In this light, it is not hard to understand the sudden "moral" awakening of Nenni—leader of the pro-Soviet Italian Socialist Party—about political degradation in the Soviet Union. In this light, it is easy to understand Nenni's dissatisfaction with the way the Kremlin has of late been mauling Stalin, who had been his guide, guardian and benefactor for years. But the world has still to hear a single word from Nenni as to when he will break his pact of common action with Khrushchev's agency in Italy—the Communist Party headed by Togliatti.

We have yet to hear from Nenni, from Foster (titular head of the Communist Party in the United States), from Togliatti, from the French Communist boss Thorez and from the Chinese Mao Tse-tung a demand that the Kremlin should correct and atone for the crimes it perpetrated under Stalin's guidance against the captive peoples of Europe and Asia.

We have yet to hear from these servants of the Kremlin a single word of repudiation and condemnation of the germ warfare charges leveled by the Moscow-Peiping Axis against the United States.

Of course, if and when Khrushchev should press a button and give the Communist Party automatons in the United States the order to do so, his fifth column in our country will surely respond. Only then will the *Daily Worker* have enough "independence" to denounce as a Stalinist fraud the Moscow-Peiping germ warfare charges against our country.

As long as this world Communist

regime and relationships continue, all talk about the Communist Party in the United States or any other Communist Party being independent from Moscow is just plain nonsense. As long as these parties remain Communist in aim and character, they will continue to function as *dependents*, as auxiliaries, as agencies of their parent body, the Communist Party of "Holy Mother Russia."

Only when such organizations or individuals disown and break with the principles and practices of totalitarian communism, only when they are no longer Communists, only when they fight actively against the pernicious Communist evil can they stop being instruments of Moscow in intent or content, in aim or action.

It might be said that the Tito experience proves that there can be "going Communist concerns" which are independent of Moscow. It is rather significant that, *today*, Moscow is especially interested in promoting this illusion. Why? Because Tito has a very important role to perform for Moscow in advancing the Soviet's new line of penetration and subversion of the Social Democrats, neutralists and even some bonafide free trade union organizations.

LET US look into this Tito myth a bit farther. It took nearly a billion dollars' worth of American military aid—plus untold other Western aid, comfort and confidence—to keep the Tito Communist regime alive. Tito's Communist dictatorship could never have survived without this unstinting "capitalist" generosity. Moreover, as soon as Moscow began to change its tactics—not its principles AND AIMS—Tito began a sweeping rapprochement with the Soviet government in the arena of international diplomacy and also with the Communist Party and the Soviet political police apparatus.

Obviously, Yugoslavia cannot dominate or direct the Soviet Union's foreign or domestic course. Khrushchev may have *formally* apologized to Tito for "Stalin's crimes"; but, in return, Tito has actually and actively aligned himself with the Khrushchev regime in support of all its important foreign policies and in hailing the Soviet "new look."

These foreign policies aim to preserve the loot seized—under Stalin's leadership—for Soviet imperialism. These Soviet foreign policies seek to

promote the drive for Communist world domination. The hub of a Communist world empire would be Moscow, not Belgrade. Its hero, or its fuehrer, would be a Khrushchev, not a Tito.

In view of all these changes and bewildering maneuvers by the Soviet rulers of world communism, it is very important to keep in mind that neither Lenin, nor Stalin, nor Khrushchev is individually or collectively *solely* to blame for the inhuman savagery, the moral degradation and the physical and intellectual enslavement suffered by countless millions behind the Iron Curtain.

Of course, no one should seek to absolve these criminals and paranoids of any guilt for their bestial crimes. But as criminals they are the products, the most powerful specimens and most noxious weeds, of communism as a totalitarian system and ideology. Stalin and the present Khrushchev leadership which he created and trained are certainly criminal desperadoes. But the Communist system which breeds and rears such criminal types as the rulers and leaders of its society is even more horribly criminal.

Lenins and Stalins may come and go. Khrushchevs may rise and fall.

But as long as the Communist system continues, new and perhaps more dangerous and even more depraved criminals are bound to take their place in perpetrating the blackest crimes against the Soviet peoples and all humanity.

Those in the United States or anywhere else who continue to have faith in dictatorship, in totalitarianism, in the Soviet Union as an historically progressive and humanely beneficial system, in the fundamental aims of communism, can never be truly independent of Moscow—either as individuals or as organized bodies and parties.

As long as these people or parties remain loyal to the basic aims of Soviet communism or continue to place their faith in the principles of totalitarian communism, they cannot be anything else but apostles, agents and agencies of totalitarian dictatorship—instruments of deceit, brutality and aggression.

No matter how loudly or how often such individuals or organizations may shout about their "independence from Moscow," they will remain prisoners of a horrible power and a morally degrading faith whose seat and center, whose head and heart are in Moscow.

Time for a Fresh Start

By JAMES A. CAMPBELL

President, American Federation of Government Employees

THE Supreme Court's decision holding that the extension of the security program to non-sensitive government jobs exceeded the authority of existing law serves



James Campbell

one very constructive purpose. It emphasizes the need for a prompt decision as to the type of security-loyalty program necessary and desirable for the protection of our country and for the protection of government employees.

The American Federation of Government Employees has always maintained that it is necessary to have special checks to assure the loyalty of applicants for government jobs and

of federal employees. We have insisted, however, that these checks and hearings be conducted on the basis of fairness.

The American Federation of Government Employees has long urged that adverse witnesses in a loyalty or a security case be produced to face the defendant, unless there is a written request by the FBI that this not be done. Such a procedure would protect employees against vindictive, unfounded accusations and at the same time permit the safeguarding of the identity of legitimate undercover agents of the government.

The Supreme Court decision places on the Administration and Congress the obligation to adopt a program which will have the confidence of the public, protect the employee against injustice and protect the United States.

Progress on the Railroads

By MICHAEL FOX

President, Railway Employees Department, AFL-CIO

THIS seems a good time to review the progress which has been made by workers in the nation's railroad industry as well as to outline some of the major problems with which we are confronted. The occasion is appropriate because recently the Railway Employees Department held a convention—and it was a successful one.

During the last five years railroad workers have encountered numerous obstacles which have made more difficult the Department's efforts to improve the welfare of the employees it represents.

While railroad workers have always met management resistance to any requests for improvements in wages and working conditions, in recent years the employers' opposition has become more relentless and better organized than ever before. To delay the prompt settlement of disputes, management has used every conceivable device.

Indeed, it is only a short time since an effort was made to destroy the very foundations of union organization in the railroad industry. The result was a prolonged strike on a number of Southeastern roads. This made necessary the postponement of our Department's convention for a year.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, labor has managed to make progress.

Perhaps the most controversial issue with which the Railway Employees Department has had to deal in the last five years has been the union shop.

Shortly before the convention which preceded the recent one, we succeeded in amending the Railway Labor Act to permit the negotiation of the union shop, and on February 5, 1951, we served notice on the carriers requesting that an agreement be negotiated to provide for a union shop. The carriers declined to negotiate on a national basis, although this had been the custom in the industry for about a quarter of a century.



MICHAEL FOX

In cooperation with the other non-operating organizations, we carried this dispute to an emergency board. The recommendation of the board was that the employers adopt a union shop and that the dispute be considered on a national, industry-wide basis.

Meanwhile, agreements had been negotiated on a number of individual lines, including the Great Northern, the New York Central and the Baltimore and Ohio. Following the report of the emergency board, an agreement was reached with the Eastern carriers' conference committee on August 29, 1952, covering the Eastern carriers.

No agreement could be reached with the Western carriers' conference committee, and the Southeastern carriers even declined to appoint a committee. Negotiations were begun on the individual carriers, with the result that agreements were negotiated with all but a few carriers—some 240 in all.

Further progress on the union shop was temporarily suspended, however, because of litigation instituted on various carriers, either to enjoin management and labor from

entering into an agreement or from carrying out its terms where an agreement was already in effect. The constitutionality of the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act and the question of whether it had precedence over state so-called "right to work" laws went to the Supreme Court.

The decision of the high court came recently. It was a major victory for the railroad unions. The court knocked out the application of "right to work" laws to railroad workers and upheld the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act. The Supreme Court's decision was unanimous.

While some seventeen union shop cases were being considered by the courts, the Railway Employees Department turned its attention to the job of securing some improvements in working conditions.

In cooperation with the other non-operating organizations, we served notice on the carriers on May 22, 1953, requesting improved vacations with pay, a health and welfare plan, paid holidays, premium pay for Sunday work and improved free transportation privileges. The companies' reply was a claim that the health and welfare dispute and the subject of free transportation were not negotiable under the Railway Labor Act. Even when this dispute was referred to an emergency board, the carriers sought to secure a declaratory judgment from the District Court to this effect, but without success.

On May 15, 1954—after one of the longest proceedings on record—the emergency board made its report to the President. The board recommended a third week of vacation and other improvements in the vacation agreement, seven paid holidays and a health and welfare plan to be paid for by the carriers and the employees on a fifty-fifty basis. The board also recommended a number of changes in working rules which had been requested by the carriers.

After prolonged negotiations an

agreement
riers' co
gust 21
on subs
except
and a n
roads w
the boar
health a

Labor
an hono
carriers
was ther
eight da
reached
award.
pute was
duly au
negotiate
tions. V
the emp
achieved
most bit
ment of

WAGE
tion
other no
national
rated in
April no
carriers,
the entire
fare prog

These
emerger
mended
cents an
1955. T
that the
of health
employees
fective in
signed by
21, placin
tions inte

Under
ment of
tivity inc
secured
made eff
The escal
hour pro
was incor
by the a
1954.

Thus I
creased a
between
Equally
made by
tions repr
on the Ca
As the

agreement was reached with the carriers' conference committees on August 21, 1954, settling this dispute on substantially all of the carriers except the Louisville and Nashville and a number of other Southeastern roads which had declined to accept the board's recommendations on a health and welfare plan.

Labor made every effort to reach an honorable settlement, but these carriers remained adamant. A strike was then called, and it lasted fifty-eight days before a settlement was reached on the basis of a referee's award. The basic issue in this dispute was the right of the employees' duly authorized representatives to negotiate improved working conditions. With the steadfast loyalty of the employees, total victory was achieved after one of the longest and most bitter strikes since the enactment of the Railway Labor Act.

WAGES have also received attention. In cooperation with the other non-operating organizations, a national wage movement was inaugurated in August of last year. In April notices had been served on the carriers requesting that they assume the entire cost of the health and welfare program.

These disputes were referred to an emergency board, which recommended a wage increase of 14½ cents an hour effective December 1, 1955. The board also recommended that the carriers assume the full cost of health and welfare benefits for the employees, up to \$6.80 a month, effective in March. An agreement was signed by the parties last December 21, placing the Board's recommendations into effect.

Under the terms of the wage agreement of March 1, 1951, a productivity increase of 4 cents an hour was secured through arbitration and made effective December 1, 1952. The escalator increase of 13 cents an hour provided under that agreement was incorporated into the basic rates by the agreement of December 3, 1954.

Thus basic wage rates were increased a total of 31½ cents an hour between our last two conventions.

Equally good progress has been made by the railway labor organizations represented by our Department on the Canadian roads.

As the result of a national move-

ment inaugurated in 1952, an agreement was signed on February 7, 1953, which increased wages 7 per cent plus 7 cents an hour—equivalent to 16.05 cents an hour—effective September 1, 1952. In addition, the check-off was made effective April 1, 1953, and the so-called emergency clause, under which certain overtime payments were waived, was canceled.

Another national movement, begun on November 2, 1953, sought improved vacations, eight holidays with pay, a system of cumulative sick leave and premium pay for Sunday work. Dissatisfied with the recommendations of a board of conciliation, the employee organizations referred the dispute to the membership in the form of a strike ballot. The result was overwhelmingly in favor of a withdrawal from service, but before a strike could be called, the Prime Minister threatened to summon a special session of Parliament. The dispute was then referred to an arbitrator.

The awards handed down on November 19, 1954, granted three weeks of paid vacation and five statutory holidays with pay, effective January 1, 1955. The employees' requests for paid sick leave or premium pay for Sunday work were not upheld. The arbitrator was asked to clarify the application of the holiday rule to certain employees. Then a master agreement, adopting the terms of the award, was signed by the parties.

On November 2 of last year another national movement was begun on the Canadian railways to secure a wage increase and further improvements in working conditions, including a health and welfare plan for the employees and their dependents and three additional statutory holidays with pay. This dispute was referred to a board of conciliation, which rendered its report a short time ago.

The majority recommended a graduated wage increase of 11 per cent spread over a fourteen-month period under a two-year contract, a contributory health and welfare plan for the employees to become effective next January, with the employees and the railways each contributing 2½ cents an hour, and two additional statutory holidays with pay.

While these recommendations fall short of the workers' needs, the organizations have accepted them as a basis of settlement and are seeking

to negotiate an agreement with the roads. Railroad employees are covered by the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. Under these laws the workers receive annuities and unemployment and sickness benefits. We have been successful since 1951 in amending these laws in a number of important respects.

Under Public Law 234, Eighty-second Congress, retirement annuities were increased by a higher benefit formula, a new wife's benefit, crediting service after age 65 and a new minimum guarantee. These amendments became effective November 1, 1951.

In 1952 the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act was amended to provide for higher benefits for railroad employees when they become sick or unemployed. Under Public Law 343, Eighty-second Congress, benefits were increased an average of about 40 per cent, effective July 1, 1952.

FOLLOWING additional study, these laws were amended further in 1954 by the Eighty-third Congress. These amendments made a number of important changes affecting retirement and survivor benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act and again increased unemployment and sickness benefits under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. These amendments raised the taxable and creditable earnings base under both systems from \$300 to \$350 a month.

Another amendment removed the restriction on the payment of dual retirement benefits under the Railroad Retirement and Social Security Acts, retroactive to October 30, 1951.

Last year the Railroad Retirement Act was amended again. Among other (Continued on Page 29)

You MAKE THE
DECISIONS
AT YOUR
UNION MEETING

**ATTEND
REGULARLY**

LONGER VACATIONS ARE COMING

By SEYMOUR BRANDWEIN
Economist, Department of Research, AFL-CIO



SEYMOUR BRANDWEIN

LESS than twenty years ago, you had to be one of the favored few to get a vacation with pay. Paid vacations were limited almost exclusively to executives and certain salaried workers.

Indeed, "vacation" was a fearful word for the average worker back in the grim 1930s. A "vacation" then all too often referred only to unemployment. It meant an unpaid break from work during a slack season or a business downturn, and not true vacation leisure or a restful frame of mind.

Things are quite different today. Vacations with pay have become accepted as a basic part of reasonable modern work conditions. Almost all workers are enjoying them this summer. And most workers are now getting not merely skimpy one-week vacations but two- or three-week vacations, with the years ahead likely to bring still longer ones.

This has been accomplished largely as a result of union action. Vacations with pay certainly were *not* gained by having individual workers ask the company president for them.

The initial experience with vacations was highly favorable. And with this broadened experience there has come an increasing recognition that vacations are socially and economically desirable. These facts have helped establish a favorable climate for successful union negotiation of vacation plans.

No doubt vacation practices would have spread somewhat even without union promotion. But it is most un-

likely that they could have been extended as widely or liberalized as rapidly without trade union efforts.

THE many advantages and the value of paid vacations for workers are now quite apparent. A vacation break from work from time to time makes for better worker physical and mental well-being. It permits a relaxing of accumulated work tensions. It eases the strain built up by week-in, week-out work. The change from the regular work routine provides a healthy refresher and helps recharge zest for living.

This is quite unlike the effect of a period of unemployment, during

which the worker is saddled with loss of income, the strain of job-hunting and concern about future security. A man on a paid vacation is in a position to enjoy the break from work, for his income is uninterrupted and his job awaits his return.

Paid vacations for workers have certain advantages from the employers' standpoint, too. They have proved a helpful means of improving worker morale, of making for more efficient, more productive workmen and of reducing absenteeism.

Beyond this, the nation has come to accept vacations as socially desirable, as something which is properly part of a normal American standard of living. They give us the time to enjoy some of what we work for.

There are, of course, different preferences on how best to spend a vacation. Many like to concentrate on favorite old hobbies. Others think in terms of catching up on household repairs or just lazing about for a while.

However, so many workers use their vacation time as an opportunity for doing new things or seeing new sights that vacations can now truly be said to have broadened the way of life of a large part of the population.

They have particularly encouraged travel. More and more, trips have become a key part of vacation activity, especially as vacation periods become longer. More people are taking advantage of the time off to visit new places and enjoy a change of scenery, to see and learn more about



Paid vacations help to recharge workers' zest for living. This group is at Unity House, famous resort of the ILGWU in Pennsylvania.

the country and about people elsewhere.

For many, vacations have also meant an enrichment of family life. Vacation time has become something to look forward to as a high spot of family activity during the year, with a significant part of family life revolving around joint plans and preparations for this prized leisure period.

The growth of vacations has, of course, also built up industries catering to the needs of the vacationer. Resort areas, sports equipment makers and shops, auto service stations and hosts of other industries have benefited from the expansion of vacation leisure time.

It is estimated that from \$15 to \$20 billion a year is now spent by traveling vacationers to meet their vacation needs, let alone the additional amounts spent by those vacationing at home.

HERE, briefly, is the story of how paid vacations have been spread through all industries, what the typical practices are today and the outlook for the years ahead:

Vacations with pay were actually known as far back as the turn of the century, but only for an occasional executive. While the practice was extended gradually to some office workers and other salaried personnel through the 1920s, as late as 1935 it was only in isolated instances that paid vacations were provided for wage-earners.

Then, as unions grew and gained strength in the late 1930s, they negotiated a number of agreements to provide this valued paid time off to wage-earners. The length of these first vacations for industrial workers was only one week, and even this limited time was restricted in some cases to workers with at least two, three or five years of service. Two-week vacations were all but unknown.

World War II brought a marked spread in the liberalization of vacation practices. Unions had increased membership and greater strength at the bargaining table. Also, several years of experience with vacations had already demonstrated their value in making for healthier and more productive workers. At the same time, wartime wage controls were in effect, and negotiators focused on benefit practices.

The result was a rapid spread of

vacation provisions in union agreements. (Once vacation plans have been adopted at unionized companies, non-union employers have tended to follow suit and provide plans that are equal or almost as good for their workers, too.)

The typical vacation formula developed during the war provided for one-week vacations after one year's service and two-week vacations for workers employed five years or more. By 1944 it was estimated that 85 per cent of workers covered by union agreements were entitled to a vacation each year.

The postwar years found unions pressing for and gaining liberalizations in the wartime one-week-for-one-year, two-weeks-for-five-years formula. For one thing, unions felt that five years was too long a time to wait to qualify for two-week vacations. This service requirement has since been reduced in agreement after agreement so that workers may start enjoying two-week annual vacations after only one, two or three years' service.

Also, the unions believed that longer-service workers should enjoy longer vacations. Provisions for three-week vacations for them have been negotiated widely in the postwar period.

Today union gains in vacation bargaining have advanced to this point:

(1) About 98 per cent of union agreements provide vacation pay plans.

(2) Two-week paid vacations are now available for almost all workers. They have long been more common for salaried office workers, but union negotiations have now greatly narrowed or eliminated the gap in vacation practices between the salaried workers and wage workers. More than 25 per cent of non-office workers now get the two-week vacations after only one year of employment. Another 45 per cent get the two-week vacations after two or three years' employment. Only 30 per cent must still wait as long as five years for them.

(3) Three-week vacations are now provided by plans covering more than 65 per cent of workers. Most workers are eligible for these three weeks after they have served with a company for fifteen years, but for many the requirement is now ten or twelve years.

In some instances, such as the print-



The respite from work is a high spot of American family life.

ing and publishing industry, for example, the three-week vacations are being provided after only five, three or even less years of employment.

(4) Four-week vacations have also been won in some areas, although usually only for workers with twenty or twenty-five years' employment. Some 15 per cent of workers are now covered by such provisions.

WHAT will the future bring? It appears clear that, barring any war emergency, the trend to longer vacations should continue strongly. The experience with vacation pleasures in recent years has whetted the appetite of American workers for more paid leisure time.

In the years immediately ahead, unions should succeed in making two-week vacations each year the minimum for all but brand-new employees.

Three-week vacations should become the rule for workers with several years of service. Most likely, five to ten years' employment will be the most common service requirement for a while and then, as is the case already in several industries, only one or two years' service will be required to qualify.

And for workers with longer service records, four-week vacations each year should rapidly become widespread practice.

Industry is increasingly better equipped to agree to such longer paid vacations. The growing use of more efficient machines and work techniques requires less time on the job. As the nation increases its ability to turn out more in less time, it is appropriate that some of the progress be translated into more vacation leisure.

Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

'Poland Is Not Yet Lost'

[Through Poland's many struggles to throw off the yoke of foreign oppressors and establish its liberty and independence, this has been the Polish national motto.]

THE HEROIC WORKERS of Poznan who were cut down by tanks and machine guns when they dared to ask for "bread and freedom" have aroused the highest admiration and the deepest sympathy of liberty-loving people of all lands. At the same time, the ruthless savagery with which the Communist puppet government of Poland suppressed the strike of workers protesting against starvation and exploitation has shocked the conscience of the free world.

Apparently even the Kremlin was disturbed by the uprising. An attempt is being made to placate the workers belatedly by rebating a tiny portion of excessive taxes levied against them. Also, a Communist Party committee is conducting an on-the-spot "investigation" of the riots, obviously for the propaganda purpose of bringing in an official verdict placing the blame on "foreign provocateurs and imperialist agents."

None of these maneuvers can obscure the truth nor mitigate the outrage.

The whole world knows that hundreds of unarmed workers were slaughtered in cold blood by their Communist oppressors under a regime which pretends to be a "working-class democracy."

The whole world realizes that this terrorism took place right in the midst of the so-called "liberalization" trend behind the Iron Curtain.

How fraudulent these pretensions appear in the light of this shocking evidence of mass murder!

How disillusioning this occurrence should prove to those wishful thinkers eager to believe in the

end of Stalinist terror and the beginning of humanization behind the Iron Curtain!

The Polish workers, hundreds of whom were killed and wounded in the streets of Poznan, fought for the ideals of all liberty-loving people from New York to New Delhi, from Chicago to Casablanca.

In the days when the American colonists were struggling bitterly for freedom and independence, men like Kosciusko and Pulaski came here from Europe to help us win the Revolutionary War. Today, when the countrymen of those great heroes are being massacred by Communist oppressors, what can we do to repay our debt to Poland?

It is deeply frustrating that there is so little that can be done short of war, which, of course, no one wants. However, there is one action our State Department can and should take. It should file formal charges seeking the expulsion of Poland from the United Nations for violating the UN charter of human rights. The Red puppet government of Poland has richly earned this public disgrace.

The Polish uprisings expose another skeleton in the Kremlin's closet. Previously, any lingering hope that a real reformation was being instituted by the new regime in Moscow had been buried by these successive developments:

¶ Soviet Russia's expanding collaboration with and incitement of the forces of aggression in the Middle East.

¶ The adamant refusal of Khrushchev & Co. to permit re-unification of Germany in freedom.

¶ The ominous rapprochement between Khrushchev and Tito.

¶ The heightened tempo of Moscow's "raid through aid" activities in Asia.

¶ The Kremlin's continued blockade of any really effective program of disarmament.

It would be folly indeed to place any trust or reliance in the "peace crusade" of Moscow on the basis of this factual record. There is, undoubtedly, a great deal of inner significance in the

frantic attempts of Stalin's successors to wash their hands of his blood-guilt, but we must remember that they were his henchmen and collaborators and can scarcely atone for their own criminality merely by putting all the blame on a dead man.

The curse of Stalinism still grips all the people imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain. It can be lifted only when that curtain is lifted and the people are freed.

Secretary Schnitzler Condemns Combination of Reactionaries

DEFEAT of the aid-to-education bill in the House of Representatives was termed "shameful" by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler in an address July 12 before the Executive Board meeting of the Industrial Union Department. The meeting was held in Denver.

"When it comes to campaign issues, to each his own," Mr. Schnitzler said. "The farmers are reported incensed over the failure of Congress to enact higher price supports. The musicians are disappointed because the high cabaret tax remains on the books. But there is one glaring Congressional omission that should stir up protests from every American family—and that is the shameful defeat in the House of the federal aid-to-education bill."

The AFL-CIO leader pinned the blame for the school measure's demise on "a combination of Dixiecrats and GOP reactionaries." These legislators united to thwart the public will in regard to this bill, he said.

"The facts are clear and unchallengeable," Mr. Schnitzler declared. "Every respectable and responsible group in the country concerned with the decay of our educational facilities and standards supported this measure. It commanded overwhelming public support."

The Democratic - Republican

reactionary bloc that killed the school bill "is the same crowd that put over the Taft-Hartley Act, the same crew that has stifled every progressive measure in Congress for years," the AFL-CIO's secretary said. Then he added:

"Isn't it about time that all of us got angry enough and determined enough to get rid of them?"

Mr. Schnitzler, in his address at the IUD's gathering, predicted that the American people will cast their votes this November "on the basis of what's good for themselves and for the entire nation." At the same time he issued a warning against overconfidence on the part of citizens who are opposed to reaction.

"We can make gains, yes, but it would take quite an upset for us to win all our goals in one year," he said. "Especially is this true of the Congressional elections which are so vital to our legislative program. The way the political lineups are rigged, with reactionary candidates virtually assured of reelection in many sections of the South, the Northwest and the agricultural Midwest, it would take a near-miracle to elect liberal majorities to both houses of Congress, sympathetic to labor's program."

"But just as Rome wasn't built in one day, so our political plans are not going to collapse if we



William F. Schnitzler

don't win everything we seek the first year. We know that political education takes time. So does political organization. One thing is certain—we won't give up this fight until we do win, no matter how long it may take.

"For we realize that the very existence of our free trade union movement and all the gains it has achieved in the past three-quarters of a century are at stake. We have not chosen this political battleground. Our enemies have forced it upon us with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and the so-called 'right to work' laws in the states.

"For our own self-preservation and for the opportunity to march forward to greater progress in the future, we must win this political struggle."

ISRAEL— Land of Democratic Pioneers

By HENRY C. FLEISHER

Director, Department of Publications, AFL-CIO

THERE'S a story about an American Jewish community leader who had spent much of his spare time for years boosting the state of Israel and raising funds for it. Finally, after years of bubbling enthusiasm from a distance, he made a trip to the new young state. On his return home, his friends gathered to hear his report on Israel.

Rising to his feet, the returned traveler recalled the many years that he had been "selling" the idea and the accomplishments of Israel to them.

"Now I've seen it with my own eyes," he said, "and all I can say is that all those lies I told you are true."

Enthusiasm is contagious—and Israel is an enthusiastic place.

Israel, during the brief eight years since it declared its independent existence and fought off the invading armies of neighboring Arab states, has been a tiny sector of democratic human progress. As such, it has won words of praise from many American trade union leaders and officials who have visited the country in recent years.

The latest group was a delegation of seven AFL-CIO officials who visited Israel under the auspices of the American Christian Palestine Committee and of Histadrut, the powerful and unusual Israeli Federation of Labor. For a period of about two weeks, the delegation toured up and down that historic land, talked with labor and government officials, visited factories and farms.

As the delegation commented:

"One need not be an expert, only an observant tourist, to see many things: the enthusiasm of the people to develop their land; the promise of your happy-looking younger generation; the influence and unique position of Histadrut, your labor movement; the hundreds of problems that you are seeking to overcome."

That AFL-CIO delegation came from many sections of America. It consisted of Vice-President Joseph Childs of the United Rubber Workers, President John Rollings of the newly-merged Missouri State Labor Council, President Charles Schultz of the Wisconsin Industrial Union Council, Secretary-Treasurer Samuel Ezelle of the Kentucky Federation of Labor, Secretary-Treasurer Neil Sherburne of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, Esther Murray of the Women's Activities Department of COPE, and the writer.

The group was the third from American labor which has visited Israel in as many years under the same auspices. Like others before it, the delegation endorsed the friendship and sympathy so often manifested by America's trade union movement for Israel and its labor organization.

In its statement, as it was leaving Israel, the delegation recalled that the AFL-CIO has often voiced "its friendship and respect for democratic Israel and for Histadrut, your labor movement. The AFL-CIO has also called for constructive policies and programs to bring about a fair and permanent peace to all the Middle East. * * *

"Like our fellow Americans and all democratic peoples, we want a program of progress and honorable peace that will insure to the state of Israel the territorial integrity of its present borders and its full national sovereignty. * * *

WHAT did this group of American trade unionists see in Israel that led it to this conclusion?

Perhaps the answer can be summarized briefly: the land, the people, the democratic spirit.

By American standards, the land is tiny. Its total area is about 8,000 square miles—the size of Massachu-



The younger generation seems to be the beginning of a new Israeli people.

setts. Its population is less than two million—a good deal less than half that of the Bay State.

Millions of Americans never see the borders of their country. In Israel, however, it is almost difficult *not* to see them. At its narrowest point the country is scarcely twelve miles wide. Time after time, as we drove through the green valleys or over dusty hills, the guide would say: "And the border is right over there."

Within those borders the people of Israel have accomplished near-miracles—and in doing so they have won acclaim throughout the world. In Biblical times, Palestine was a land of "milk and honey"—but through the intervening centuries the land was tortured and neglected. The trees were cut down, the soil eroded and the desert crept over most of the land.

Since the first Zionist settlers began to return to the land less than a half-century ago, the desert has been pushed back. Throughout the length of the coastal plain, green fields show the mark of modern agricultural methods. In the northern Negev desert, pipelines bring the water of the Yacon River—a tiny stream in itself—to irrigate the fertile land and produce tremendous crops.

On the hills, through bulldozers and hand labor, rocks are being moved, terraces created and hundreds



Premier David Ben-Gurion (second from left) discussed his country's problems with the visiting U.S. unionists. Flanking him here are Missouri's John Rollings (left) and Kentucky's Sam Ezelle. Lady is Mrs. Esther Murray of COPE. Man next to her is unidentified.

of thousands of saplings planted. At first view, it seems an impossible task, a futile act of dedication. But the second view shows hills where the work was done five or ten years ago—and there the hillsides are green and cool and productive.

This is no job for lazy people, or the cynical, or those who do not believe in the promise of the future. In much the same spirit that American labor talks of the sacrifice necessary to build a trade union movement for our children and grandchildren, so the leaders of Israel's government and its labor movement talk of the country they are building for their future generations.

To Israel, Jews have come from many lands—to build up the new nation and to escape persecution and death. Some managed to escape Nazi Germany and the death camps that Hitler established. Others have come from behind the Iron Curtain, where Communist dictatorship has threatened death or loss of liberty and culture. More recently immigrants have come from backward Yemen, on the Arabian peninsula, or Iraq or parts of North Africa, where rising rationalism unfortunately has sometimes been accompanied by prejudice and sinister threats to the Jewish population.

In modern Beersheba, a new, planned city rising out of the Israel desert, a young trade union official looked around at the crowds enjoying the evening breezes as they

lounged about the main square on a pleasant Saturday night. The faces seemed to represent a veritable United Nations of people from widely separated parts of the globe.

"Israel," the Histadrut official said, with a wave of the hand at the people in the square, "is more than a melting pot. It's a pressure cooker."

And the younger generation—the school kids, the healthy youngsters of both sexes who serve in Israel's army—seem indeed to be the beginning of a new *Israeli* people.

A mainspring in this effort to re-

claim the land and weld the people into a democratic community is a unique trade union movement—Histadrut, the Israel Federation of Labor.

Histadrut was formed decades ago by the early pioneers, many of whom brought from Europe a deep-seated belief in the dignity of labor and the need for democratic unionism. Because it existed in the years of the British mandate, in the decades after World War I and before the new state was created, Histadrut took on many functions rarely found in the labor

The Philip Murray Community Center at Elath was built through a \$100,000 gift from the Philip Murray Memorial Foundation and a matching contribution from Israeli unions. The building is the focal point of community and cultural life in the growing town located at the extreme southern tip of the country.





Mrs. Golda Myerson, the Foreign Minister, had a chat with Charles Schultz of Wisconsin's Industrial Union Council. Mrs. Myerson taught school in Milwaukee some years ago.

Mordecai Namir (standing) is Labor Minister. Previously he was secretary of Histadrut. The listener is Vice-President Joseph Childs of Rubber Workers.



movements of other countries. Histadrut represents workers in the collective bargaining process, somewhat like other labor movements. But because it existed before there was much industry, the national unions are subordinate to the federation itself. In recent years, however, these national unions have been gaining strength and prestige within the labor movement.

RESPONDING to various needs during years past, Histadrut inaugurated a workers' health service—with clinics and hospitals—which provides excellent medical care at low monthly rates.

Its consumer cooperatives and farm producers' co-ops have helped to keep distribution costs down. Its housing projects, together with those of the government, provide homes in city apartments and in farm villages for scores of thousands of families.

Histadrut banks and insurance companies maintain branches throughout Israel. And because risk capital has always been in short supply, Histadrut has invested widely in enterprises up and down the land. Solel Boneh, for instance, is Israel's biggest con-

struction firm; it is owned completely by Histadrut.

The spirit of Histadrut is easy to see and to feel. Labor has placed its democratic imprint squarely on the country. Workers' living standards are high; there is a national recognition that this little country, which has been the dream of Jewish people for centuries, cannot be built on exploitation but must be a product of cooperative activity.

Human dignity ranks high in Israel. That in itself makes Israel remarkable in the Middle East, where backward feudalism has been the mode of living for centuries on end. Indeed, that democratic philosophy extends not only to Israel's Jewish people but also to its 200,000 Arab citizens.

Arab workers are employed at the same wage rates as Jewish workers. Histadrut health facilities operate in

the Arab villages. In ancient Nazareth, the country's biggest Arab city, Histadrut claims 3,000 members. In its health center Arab mothers wait with their children for modern medical service—the same sort of medical service that their Jewish fellow-citizens receive in other communities.

Perhaps if Israel were less dedicated to the spirit of democracy, it might find an easier living in the Middle East. Yet the country is staunchly loyal to its ideals. The rulers of all Israel's neighbors are still technically at war with the new republic; only the overt hostilities have ceased, as a result of the United Nations armistice agreements negotiated in 1948 and 1949.

Traveling up and down this bustling little country, one cannot help wondering:

Would Israel's neighbors be so hostile if Israel were less devoted to modern democracy?

Would there be so many threats of war if Israel, by an accident of history, had turned out to be another nation where big, rich landowners maintain an oppressive rule over impoverished peasants?

Is the hostility to Israel based on the fact that its success is that of a free people, able to think and read and write and to elect their parliament?

Despite the fact that Israel is surrounded by governments which cry out their intention to "drive Israel into the sea," the people of Israel show little signs of tension or fear. They hope that America and the West will sell them arms to counter-balance the jets and tanks which the Soviet Communists have been pouring into nearby Egypt. They have foresworn preventive war and voice the hope—in the words of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion—that there will be no war. If it comes, they will fight within their borders in defense of their new land and their new society.

"To witness this rebuilding" of the land and of the society, the AFL-CIO delegation said to its hosts in Israel, "is to admire your courage, initiative and spirit of democracy."

Those traits will be put to the test in the months ahead. If Israel's brief past is a true prelude to its uneasy future, Israel will justify the faith of its friends that this is a country essentially devoted to peace, to progress and to the spirit of Twentieth Century pioneering.



L. S. BUCKMASTER

THE STORY of the RUBBER WORKERS

By L. S. BUCKMASTER

*President, United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum
and Plastic Workers of America*

PRIOR to the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933, unions were virtually nonexistent in the rubber industry. Collective bargaining was an unknown experience among rubber workers.

As a direct result of the impetus given employees by Section 7(a) of the NIRA to form unions, to bargain collectively and to engage in concerted activities, a wave of unionization swept the rubber industry. Within a year after the right to organize was written into federal law, the American Federation of Labor had issued sixty-nine federal labor union charters in various plants of the rubber industry. During the first year of organization the membership reached a temporary but surprising maximum of 50,000.

The first constitutional convention of what is now known as the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, AFL-CIO, was called in September, 1935, by the president of the American Federation of Labor. Twenty-six federal labor unions, located in widely scattered parts of the country, responded to the call and sent delegates to the convention in Akron, Ohio. These delegates represented about 3,000 members.

There were forty-six delegates at this first constitutional convention. This small group of enthusiastic, determined and dedicated men undertook the unfamiliar job of framing a constitution for the infant union and electing officers to guide its destiny.

Sherman H. Dalrymple was elected general president. He was to serve in that capacity for ten full years. The original constitution has been amended at the annual conventions to meet the necessities of rapidly changing times and conditions. Until 1954 conventions were held yearly. In 1954 the convention adopted an amendment providing for conventions in even-numbered years.

The international union which was born at Akron was without funds. The American Federation of Labor advanced the sum of \$1000, turned over about \$1850 which had accumulated in the Rubber Workers Council and donated office furniture valued at \$675.

BEFORE the union could get securely established, it was faced with serious problems which would have taxed the skill and ingenuity of experienced hands. The major employers of rubber workers were not willing to recognize the rights of their employees to join and form unions.

There were no collective bargaining contracts, no procedure to process grievances was recognized, and the employers were challenging the constitutionality of the Wagner Act and resisting the efforts of the union to bargain. In self-defense the workers quickly discovered the effective and convenient method of the sitdown strike to obtain a prompt redress of grievances. As a natural consequence, the sitdown became a frequent tech-

nique. A sitdown occurred in the Firestone plants in Akron in January, 1936. There was a sitdown the same month in the Akron plants of Goodyear and the following month there was one at the Goodrich plants in Akron.

An accumulation of grievances in the mammoth Akron plants of Goodyear, the company's evident preference for a company union which had been established years earlier, a threat to return to the eight-hour day from the six-hour day, wage cuts and threatened speed-up of production flared into a full-scale strike in February, 1936. After five weeks the strike was settled. The principal result was the establishment of membership self-confidence, a sincere faith in the eventual triumph of their rights set forth in the Wagner Act and a determination to move forward.

On July 1, 1936, the United Rubber Workers affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

A milestone was reached on April 28, 1937, when the Firestone Company signed a collective bargaining agreement with Local 7 in Akron after a prolonged strike which began on March 3, 1937. The writer was president of Local 7 at that time. The Firestone agreement was the first with any major rubber company. It provided recognition of the local union and established seniority, working conditions, wages and hours of work.

Within a few weeks elections were won by the union at the Goodrich

plants and Goodyear plants in Akron. Many months of negotiations were ahead before agreements were consummated.

Meanwhile, the young union was faced with a development which added to its responsibilities and imposed increased burdens. The rubber industry had embarked upon an extensive program of decentralization. In addition to the job of getting contractual relations established in the Akron plants, the new plants in scattered parts of the country had to be organized.

Between 1939 and 1941 a vigorous and concentrated effort was made to solidify and increase the membership. By June 30, 1941, there were 145 local unions in good standing and the membership totaled 78,500.

The year 1941 found our country engaged in a vast defense program. Rubber workers were making new products and many former products in greatly increased quantities. Immediately following Pearl Harbor, the

URW entered into the no-strike pledge. The general president, Sherman H. Dalrymple, courageously and fearlessly carried out the pledge. In fact, the rigid enforcement of the no-strike pledge created internal union political alignments which cast their shadows over several ensuing years.

The URW embarked upon a period of feverish War Labor Board activity. By reason of its conscientious adherence to the no-strike pledge, it obtained almost universal extension of union security provisions in its contracts with employers. The establishment of union security, through War Labor Board grants of maintenance of membership, paved the avenue for the negotiation of union shop contracts shortly after the end of World War II.

The War Labor Board decided to stabilize wages in the rubber industry on an industry-wide basis, even though the cases had been presented to the Board on a plant-by-plant basis. As a result of this action many area

wage differentials were reduced, many lower-paid plants had the wage levels increased and numerous inequalities were adjusted.

As a direct by-product of this action of the War Labor Board, the Big Four rubber companies, employing about 100,000 of the URW membership, agreed to negotiate wages on a Big Four level. Settlements were reached in 1946 and 1947. Out of this experience company-wide bargaining with the Big Four rubber companies developed.

The practice of multi-plant bargaining has been extended to other companies. The beneficial result of this procedure is that uniform provisions on innumerable subjects of bargaining have been established.

From the modest and precarious beginning, the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America have now grown to an institution consisting of a membership in excess of 175,000 members dispersed from the rocky coasts of New England to California and from Canada to the Deep South. Collective bargaining contracts have been negotiated with employers in all fields of the rubber industry and in the cork, floor covering and plastic industries.

THE United Rubber Workers Union has from its beginning been permeated with the spirit that it is an organization dedicated to service. This underlying philosophy of service to its members has continued to grow throughout the years. The organization has developed a variety of methods for the purpose of providing continuous and expanded service to its membership.

The administrative affairs of the international union are conducted between conventions by the three executive officers and the general executive board. The executive officers are the writer, who is general president; Joseph W. Childs, general vice-president, and Desmond Walker, general secretary-treasurer. Periodic meetings of the general executive board are held on a quarterly basis. The board consists of fifteen members, including the three executive officers.

The membership is kept informed

The workers represented by the URW have good conditions and they receive substantial wages. The situation was far different in the bad old pre-union days.



of all
through
publicat
ers, wh
relation
settled
Rubber
activitie
and wa
tivities,
articles
member
by mail
The
partmen
general
counsel.
departm
ficers an
question
informe
velopme
relations
increasi
The
search
is to pr
specting
wages
dustry
ous job
research
economy
all types
formula
The
an educ
the resp
which a



This picture was taken in Akron ten years ago. President Buckmaster and officers of local unions met to work on a master contract to cover all the plants of the U.S. Rubber Company.

of all developments of interests through the medium of a monthly publication, the *United Rubber Workers*, which is prepared by the public relations department. It is a well-settled editorial policy that the *United Rubber Worker* shall carry reports of activities within the union, contract and wage negotiations, legislative activities, political developments and articles of general interest. Every member receives a copy of the paper by mail every month.

The union maintains a legal department which consists of a full-time general counsel and assistant general counsel. It is the function of the legal department to advise the executive officers and the staff on the many legal questions that arise and to keep them informed of legal and legislative developments. In every aspect of labor relations, legal guidance has become increasingly important.

The union also maintains a research department whose function it is to provide accurate information respecting wage rates, comparisons of wages between plants within the industry and comparisons between various job rates in other industries. The research department also provides economic data and material for use in all types of negotiations and for the formulation of economic policy.

The United Rubber Workers have an educational department. It has the responsibility of arranging classes which are attended by members of the

local unions in various parts of the country. The department distributes literature for use by the various local unions in educational activities and participates in annual legislative conferences.

For the past several years the URW has sponsored legislative institutes in Washington. Members of local unions throughout the country designate members to attend the institutes, the primary purpose of which is to provide first-hand political and legislative education to the membership. Those members who participate have the opportunity of observing Congress in action, attend meetings of various Congressional committees and meet members of the Senate and House.

THE organizational activities of the United Rubber Workers are conducted and directed by a general organizational director. The office of organizational director is established by the constitution. The director is appointed by the general president subject to approval of the executive board.

With local unions in thirty-six states and in Canada, it was essential for efficient administration that the union establish districts. In each of seven districts there is a district director. There are sixty field representatives distributed throughout the districts who work under the supervision of the district directors. Their functions

are to assist local unions in the negotiation of contracts, to conduct organizational campaigns, to assist in the processing of grievances, to assist local unions in the conduct of their affairs and to assist in the preparation of arbitration cases. Several special representatives are assigned to assist in the negotiation and administration of multi-plant contracts.

The wage policy and economic programs of the union are formulated by a constitutionally established body of delegates called the international policy committee. Every local union is entitled to representation on this committee.

The policy committee meets at least once each year and formulates and adopts a program for collective bargaining purposes.

The union maintains a fair employment practices department, the function of which is to secure information about employment opportunities and practices and to promote fair employment practices.

The union periodically sponsors radio programs for the purpose of disseminating information of interest to its membership. The union encourages the establishment of and provides assistance in the formation and maintenance of ladies' auxiliaries.

The pensions and insurance department is charged with the responsibility of negotiating pension and insurance agreements and providing assistance and guidance in administer-



Back in 1936 the unorganized workers, sick of being exploited, turned out for the URW's big meetings. They joined the union—and through their union they fought for and won significant gains.

ing those agreements for the ultimate benefit of the membership.

The constitution provides for district councils in each of the respective districts. Each district council conducts a meeting at least once each year to which all local unions may send delegates. The purpose is to provide a method by which the locals may exchange information vital to their negotiation of contracts and the administration of their affairs.

Because the rubber industry is predominantly a wage incentive industry, the international union maintains a staff of time-study engineers whose primary function is to assist local unions in disputes arising over the operation of the wage payment systems. Classes are conducted to afford interested members of the union an opportunity to qualify as time-study engineers.

A legislative office is maintained by the United Rubber Workers in Washington for the purpose of keeping the international and the locals informed of legislative developments and pending legislation in Congress.

The financial affairs of the United Rubber Workers and its local unions are under the guidance of a full-time comptroller. With the assistance of five traveling auditors, he assists local unions in the administration of their financial affairs and in the preparation of their financial reports. A special representative of safety and workmen's compensation assists locals in the establishment of plant committees to deal with these activities. A skilled

trades coordinator is charged with the responsibility of gathering, assembling and supplying information to all local unions for use in the negotiation of wages and other matters directly affecting the skilled tradesmen.

THE URW has consistently regarded the improvement of wage rates as its fundamental and primary duty. Its devotion to the principle that wage rates are of cardinal importance has been productive of tangible results.

When the union was founded in 1935, the average straight-time pay in the rubber industry was 68 cents an hour. Twenty years later the average straight-time earnings in the rubber industry were 2.02 an hour. In the tire and tube division of the industry the comparative hourly earnings for the same years were 84 cents and \$2.32.

The attention of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America has not been centered alone on efforts to obtain wage increases. Recognition has always been given to the fact that unwarranted differentials exist as between jobs, between plants and between areas. The union has continuously maintained that the same job should be paid the same rate, regardless of its geographical location.

By reason of the fact that most production workers in the industry are provided with opportunities to increase their earnings under wage incentive systems, the union has fre-

quently obtained adjustments in the rates of maintenance and engineering and other hourly-rated employees to correct inequities.

Wage incentive systems always involve complicated problems. For many years employers were able to reduce earnings by changing production standards, the layout of equipment, the methods employed or the content of an operation. The Rubber Workers have negotiated protective provisions in the agreements with employers respecting the establishment of rates or a change in rates on jobs that are on an incentive plan. The union has succeeded in obtaining contractual provisions to the effect that any change in piecework rates must be commensurate with the change in job content. Contract provisions have also been negotiated that rates on newly established jobs must be comparable to the rates on similar operations.

Machinery has been developed so that employers must provide the union with all of the engineering data and material respecting an incentive rate. A dispute over a new incentive rate or a changed incentive rate is subject to the grievance procedure; and if negotiations fail to produce a satisfactory settlement, the dispute is subject to final and binding arbitration.

Since 1947 multiple-plant bargaining has been developed. The union and the employer negotiate a master agreement with each of the Big Four companies as well as several other

companies
multiple-plant
tremely be
bership. M
wide barg
form bene
plants, reg

Uniform
day pay.
off-standa
fits have b
to the wel
to the imp
ment relat

One of
sistent bar
versal exis
sions. Ag
tiated whic
with pensio
of service
ermore, m
tion to soc

been prov
grams pro
age 65, d
ploys wh
sions for
retirement
pension ri

The uni
negotiating
life insura
insurance,
insurance
payers. H
insurance

for the er
hands or v
pitalization
also prov
cases for

Collectiv
in practice
bitration o
respecting
visions of
demands

eral wage
arbitration
ject the u
right to te
a general
fore, in a
in strike

The UF
ery within
stitution t
rights of
ber who i
against th
right of t
impartiall
his local

companies. The development of multiple-plant bargaining has had extremely beneficial results to the membership. Multiple-plant or company-wide bargaining has resulted in uniform benefits for employees in all plants, regardless of location.

Uniform vacation provisions, holiday pay, call-in pay, allowances for off-standard work and other benefits have been a notable contribution to the welfare of our members and to the improvement of labor-management relationships.

One of the achievements of persistent bargaining is the virtually universal existence of company-paid pensions. Agreements have been negotiated which provide retired employees with pension benefits geared to length of service as well as earnings. Furthermore, minimum pensions, in addition to social security benefits, have been provided. The pension programs provide for normal pensions at age 65, disability pensions for employees who become disabled, pensions for employees eligible for early retirement and, in some cases, vested pension rights have been established.

The union has also succeeded in negotiating agreements providing for life insurance, hospital and surgical insurance, and sickness and accident insurance without cost to the employees. Hospitalization and surgical insurance provides coverage not only for the employees but for their husbands or wives and dependents. Hospitalization and surgical insurance is also provided in the majority of cases for employees who are retired.

Collective bargaining agreements in practically all cases provide for arbitration of disputes which may arise respecting the interpretation of provisions of the agreement. However, demands for adjustment of the general wage scale are not subject to arbitration. With respect to this subject the union has provided for the right to terminate the agreement over a general wage demand and is, therefore, in a lawful position to engage in strike action if necessary.

The URW has developed machinery within the framework of its constitution to preserve the democratic rights of the membership. A member who is charged with an offense against the union is assured of the right of trial by a tribunal selected impartially from the membership of his local union to hear the case.

Members are not subject to fines or other penalties unless they have been tried and convicted by a trial board consisting of members of their own local union. Any member charged with an offense is entitled to select a fellow member or members to act as his counsel in defense of the charge.

If a member is convicted by a trial board of his fellow members, he is given the right to appeal the decision to the general executive board, and in the event the general executive board affirms a conviction by the trial board, he may appeal to the next convention.

The membership of the union takes considerable pride in the maintenance of the democratic process within the union.

The URW has insisted upon membership compliance with the established law and with contracts entered into. As a result of the union's policy that agreements must be observed, the URW has earned the reputation of being a responsible institution.

The international union has recognized that in the enjoyment of its rights as a collective bargaining agent for its members it must assume the responsibilities which go hand in hand with its rights. The union has sought to conduct its affairs within the organization and also in its relations with management and the government on a foundation of truth, fairness and equity.

Approximately 80 per cent of the entire membership is covered by agreements which contain union shop provisions.

The objectives and goals of the

United Rubber Workers may be briefly summarized as follows:

▶To insure continued improvement of wages and other benefits.

▶To provide protection against involuntary idleness.

▶To maintain adequate medical and hospitalization care for its members, their dependents and those who retire from active employment.

▶To protect its members from discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin.

▶To extend educational opportunities to the membership so that they will be able to appreciate the advantages of a strong, honest union, and to recognize their responsibilities.

▶To stimulate a consciousness of the importance of recognizing the sanctity of contracts entered into in good faith.

▶To stress the wisdom and advantages of following an orderly procedure to obtain a redress of grievances.

▶To provide its members with adequate pensions when they are no longer actively employed by reason of age or disability.

▶To provide its members with sufficient life insurance and sickness and accident insurance.

▶To keep abreast of industrial and economic changes in order to afford the membership continued employment despite automation.

▶To expand organizational activities.

▶To continue its efforts to establish sound, stable and fair labor-management relationships.

For a Better Tomorrow

The voluntary fund-raising campaign of the Committee on Political Education is now in full swing. Every AFL-CIO member is being asked to contribute \$1. Have you made your COPE contribution yet? If you haven't, will you please do so today? And will you urge all your friends to pitch in, too? Politics is the wage-earners' business because we have learned that our welfare is affected by what happens on Election Day. We need more friends in Congress and the state legislatures. As an important step in the right direction, please give your buck to COPE today.

Workers in Agriculture *and the Big Corporation Farms*

By H. L. MITCHELL

President, National Agricultural Workers Union

DESPITE the overwhelming power of the corporate farm interests of our nation, the men and women who labor in the fields have been willing to try to organize time after time. The story of their courage and their desperation is largely unknown and unrecognized. Into the organizations which they have created through the years, they have poured their hopes and their dreams. The price they have had to pay has often been blacklisting, long and bitter strikes, beatings, prison and sometimes death. Their protests have a quality of tragedy which most American trade union members in this rich, prosperous and comfort-loving country of ours have almost forgotten.

Near the end of the last century the American Federation of Labor chartered its first in a long series of local unions of farm hands. Cowpunchers on a huge cattle ranch in Western Texas were among the first to organize under the AFL banner. Some years later the AFL also set up a national union of sheepshearers, which later merged with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. In 1946 the AFL chartered its first national union of farm workers, now known as the National Agricultural Workers Union.

This organization has been in existence more than twenty years. It had its origin among white and Negro sharecroppers on cotton plantations in Eastern Arkansas. Initially, it was known as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and was not affiliated with the labor movement.

From its beginnings the organization of sharecroppers attracted nationwide attention to the problems of farm workers. It was unique in that it was the first organization to unite rural workers in the South on an interracial basis. For that reason



H. L. MITCHELL

and because of the integrity of its early leaders and the devotion of its members, the union received encouragement from many outstanding liberal Americans as well as from the top leadership of the American labor movement.

The work of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union carried on by Negro and white workers on the lowest rung of the economic ladder helped to pave the way for many constructive government programs launched by the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt to relieve the economic ills of the South. The union of sharecroppers was the first to demand the appointment of the President's Commission on Farm Tenancy in 1935, and a member of its executive board served on this commission, which laid the foundation for a program later enacted by Congress to resettle, house and rehabilitate low-income farm people.

One of the officers of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was also a member of the National Economic

Council and helped develop the report on which President Roosevelt based his statement that the South was "America's economic problem No. 1."

Aside from affecting public policy and materially raising the low living standards of its members, the chief accomplishment of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in the 1930s was that it served as a proving ground for over 200,000 individual farm workers, many of whom left the cotton fields for industry and became active in the great organizing campaigns undertaken in mass production industries such as auto and steel.

In 1937 the sharecropper organization took part in the formation of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America founded by CIO. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union's members were made the targets of the top Communist officials as they sought to oust the native Southern leadership and capture the membership for the party line.

After two years of internal strife, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was forced to leave the CIO, thus becoming one of the first groups to withdraw on account of the Communist issue. In 1950 the national CIO ousted the remnants of the organization of agricultural and processing workers, along with other Communist-led organizations in its ranks.

THE Southern Tenant Farmers Union suffered heavy membership losses as a result of the internal strife with the Communists and did not fully recover until World War II was well under way. Through the war years the organization maintained a hiring hall and assisted the War Manpower Commission in the recruitment, transportation and placement of unemployed and underemployed farm

workers for
It cooper
and CIO
for the ex
Thousa
shipped o
rary empl
derground
was encour
cials of th
but oppos
same agen

After a
Federation
ion of far
its Southe
launched
the emplo
oration in
was made
where mar
exist.

SEVERAL
work
Agricultur
West Coast
best-know
ployes on
Corporati
California

This st
ported by
over a year
held by t
strike was
the first
tions issue
Hartley A
in this st
that for t
tract work
governme
strikebrea
was the ai
corporati
supplied
12,000-ac

From t
that it is
ize a sin
closely kn
unionize
production
ion led a
against a
nearly all
tural are
creased w
bargaining
However,
organizer
organizati
significant

workers for both farms and industry. It cooperated with several other AFL and CIO unions in supplying workers for the expanding wartime industries.

Thousands of farm workers were shipped out of the South for temporary employment via the union's underground railway operation, which was encouraged by top national officials of the U.S. Employment Service but opposed by local officials of the same agency.

After affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in 1946, the union of farm workers expanded from its Southern base. A campaign was launched in California to organize the employees of the large-scale corporation farms. Substantial progress was made in this area and in others where mammoth factories-in-the-fields exist.

SEVERAL significant strikes of farm workers were led by the National Agricultural Workers Union on the West Coast from 1947 to 1953. The best-known was that of the 1,100 employees on the huge DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation ranch near Bakersfield, California.

This strike, which was fully supported by the labor movement, lasted over a year. Despite the solid ranks held by the workers, the DiGiorgio strike was finally broken by one of the first secondary boycott injunctions issued under the then new Taft-Hartley Act. Another factor involved in this strike of farm workers was that for the first time Mexican contract workers, legally imported under government auspices, were used as strikebreakers. Still another factor was the aid given DiGiorgio by other corporation farm operators who also supplied scab labor to operate the 12,000-acre ranch.

From this strike the union learned that it is just as impossible to organize a single large-scale farm in a closely knit agricultural area as is to unionize a single factory in a mass production industry. In 1949 the union led a strike of cotton workers against a wage cut. This involved nearly all farms in the same agricultural area, and the union won increased wages and recognition as the bargaining agent for its membership. However, due to lack of funds and organizers, it was not possible for our organization to capitalize fully on this significant victory.

Other successes were achieved each year thereafter. Wage increases and improved conditions resulted wherever the union organized a substantial number of farm workers. Local unions were set up in nearly every major agricultural area.

In California a statewide council of agricultural unions was formed. The corporation farmers were on the verge of capitulation. The acceptance of a trade union in corporate agriculture seemed inevitable.

However, the notorious Associated Farmers seized the idea of stopping the march of union organization in the fields by massive importation of Mexican workers. Thousands of legally imported contract workers and an unknown number of illegal Mexican aliens, known as wetbacks, were brought in and began replacing the unionized farm workers in California. Blacklists of union members began circulating throughout the state.

With the bars let down, Mexican workers flooded California's labor market. More than 77,000 legal contract workers were brought in during 1954 by a compliant U. S. and California employment service. With an average employment of 145,000 farm

workers in the state, known union members did not have a chance to get jobs.

Again other trade unions were the beneficiaries of a struggle carried on by farm workers to organize, as nearly all members of the National Agricultural Workers Union in California took jobs in the state's expanding industries.

In 1951 the union made its final stand to stem the tide of alien labor and protect the jobs of its members. Six thousand American workers, the majority of Mexican descent, were organized in Southern California along the Mexican border in what is known as the Imperial Valley. The union led a sixty-day demonstration seeking to force compliance with the terms of the international agreement between the U.S. and Mexican governments. One of the provisions of this agreement was that available American workers were to be given job preference over imported contract workers.

The members of the Agricultural Workers Union on the U.S. side and the members of unions in Mexico joined forces in unparalleled mass picketing of the boundary between



Delegates registering at a union convention. The organization, born in the South, has united workers on an interracial basis from the beginning.

the two countries. This stopped the entry of Mexican wetback labor. In the Imperial Valley the American union men began making "citizens' arrests" of wetbacks who managed to get through the joint picket line.

One agency of government, the U.S. Border Patrol, cooperated with the union by deporting to Mexico all wetbacks rounded up each day by the trade union members. The other agencies of government involved, which were the U.S. Department of Labor and its affiliated California Employment Service, engaged in wholesale strikebreaking by refusing to give jobs to American workers and increasing the numbers of Mexican contract workers while the wetback strike was on.

At the end of the season, 1,500 of the American workers remained in the area and secured jobs when the U.S. Secretary of Labor finally decided to enforce the law enacted by Congress, after the union threatened to file suit against him in the U.S. District Court in Washington. The following year a few hundred workers who were members of the union got farm jobs, but many others left their homes for industrial centers.

Today 10,000 Mexican contract nationals plant, cultivate, harvest and process the hundreds of carloads of fresh fruits and vegetables produced in this early market garden—California's Imperial Valley. Only a handful of American workers remain in the area and only a few work on the farms, but they keep the union alive. The same situation now exists all over the state. Mexican contract workers are the basic farm labor force in California. U.S. citizens are employed only occasionally as supplementary workers on the huge corporation-owned factories-in-the-fields.

In the fall of 1953 more than 2,000 sugar cane workers in Louisiana organized a union and sought to secure recognition by the corporations engaged in producing and processing sugar cane. The companies refused to recognize the union, claiming that unions of farm workers were illegal under federal and state law. The Taft-Hartley Act, the companies pointed out, excludes agricultural workers from protection under its provisions.

The sugar cane plantation workers walked out of the fields. The strike was called off at the end of thirty days



Mexican contract workers are now the basic farm labor force in California. U.S. citizens get little work on the huge corporation-owned factories-in-the-fields.

when an injunction was issued by a state court on the basis that agricultural workers were forbidden to strike during harvest time because such concerted action jeopardized a vital segment of the state's economy. Sugar cane is Louisiana's major crop.

The State Supreme Court upheld this legal theory of the dark ages in labor relations. The chief justice said:

"The guarantees of freedom of speech, even if picketing and speech are held to be identical, cannot be maintained in the face of such irreparable injury to property."

When the case reached the United States Supreme Court, the injunction was ordered vacated.

ALTHOUGH the row of the agricultural worker has been a hard one to hoe, his hopes are now centered in the new AFL-CIO, for he knows that neither AFL nor CIO ever concurred in the proposition that agricultural labor should be insulated forever from prevailing national labor standards.

Before attempting to peer into the future of the National Agricultural Workers Union, one needs to take a

look at what has been happening down on the farm. There has been an industrial revolution in American agriculture in the past two decades. Farming is big business in the raw.

Agriculture is America's largest single industry. In 1953 it had an annual production of \$34,700,000,000. Its investment in machinery alone amounts to \$10,000,000,000 more than the net of the steel industry. It has five times more invested than the automobile industry and seven times that of nonferrous mining.

The average investment per worker in agriculture is \$14,000, while the investment per man in manufacturing is only \$8000. On some of the larger corporation factories-in-the-field, the average often exceeds \$50,000 per worker.

There are nearly 2,000,000 wage workers in agriculture employed twenty-five days or more per year. In 1949 more than 1,000,000 persons reported that they earned more than half their income from farm work, and 744,000 had been working for the same employer more than six months. Nearly 400,000 had regular jobs on the large-scale, corpora-

tion-type
900,000
each year
these, 50
ers over
maining

The av
in Amer
amount
the natio
wages of
and Sout
corporati
low as 3

Ten ye
a height
factory e
36 per c
in manuf
ratios do
only be e
which ha
story of
union.

The ma
ers, both
employed
poration-
1950 cla
basis of
size of la
states the
5,000 ac

things, th
the widor
dependen
ployes w
rights un
would d
systems,
payable t
ploys wo
maximum
or husban
Act and
the Railr
the excep
assistant
would be
civil serv

Thus,
before it
ress. W
delegates
they exa
number

Beaus
agency b
wage dis

AUGUST

tion-type farms. There are now about 900,000 seasonal workers employed each year in harvesting crops. Of these, 500,000 are American workers over 14 years of age. The remaining 400,000 are foreign workers.

The average wages paid workers in American agriculture in 1954 amounted to 88 cents per hour for the nation as a whole. However, wages of some workers in the South and Southwest, where the large-scale corporations set the pace, were as low as 35 and 40 cents an hour.

Ten years ago farm wages reached a height of 48 per cent of average factory earnings, now they are only 36 per cent of the average received in manufacturing. This drop in wage ratios does not make sense. It can only be explained by the experiences which have been recounted in the story of the agricultural workers' union.

The majority of agricultural workers, both regular and seasonal, are employed on 70,000 large-scale, corporation-type farms. The census of 1950 classified these farms on the basis of value of production and the size of land holdings. In the Western states the 24,089 large-scale farms of 5,000 acres or more accounted for

66 per cent of all the farm land, while in the rest of the country the large farms consisted of tracts of 1,000 acres or more and accounted for 31 per cent of the total land in production. Together they produce over one-fourth of the total food and fiber products marketed each year.

The census does not reveal the extent of corporate ownership of the factories-in-the-fields, nor does it indicate the number of large farm units under single corporate ownership and operation. However, it is known that many corporations which engage in both producing and processing agricultural products are under the same management.

Since the end of World War II, development of pre-cooked, packaged and frozen fresh fruits and vegetables and increasing consumer demand for these products have led to the establishment of a new industry located near the source of raw supply and often directly on the larger farms. There are no accurate figures available as to the extent of employment in the new agricultural processing industry, but there have been estimates that the number of workers exceeds 1,000,000. It is known that many of the displaced farm workers now

have regular jobs in this related agricultural industry. Other farm workers and their families also find supplemental seasonal employment in food processing industries and alternate between factory and field work.

In view of this new development in agriculture, the National Agricultural Workers Union is turning its major attention toward organization of workers who are employed in both the agricultural field and processing work in rural areas. Since the AFL-CIO merger several unions of sugar mill workers which were formerly CIO local industrial unions have merged with the National Agricultural Workers Union and are participating in a campaign to organize the unorganized sugar cane workers.

A beginning has also been made in organizing the workers employed in the rice industry, which consists mainly of irrigation company employees supplying water to cover the rice paddy field during the growing season and in the first processing of rice. Practically all of this industry is now located in rural communities and small towns where the National Agricultural Workers Union has operated for many years.

Progress on the Railroads

(Continued from Page 13)

things, this legislation provided that the widows, dependent widowers or dependent parents of railroad employees who also accumulate benefit rights under the Social Security Act would draw annuities under both systems, that the maximum benefit payable to the spouse of a retired employee would be not less than the maximum benefit payable to a wife or husband under the Social Security Act and that all staff positions with the Railroad Retirement Board, with the exception of one administrative assistant for each board member, would be completely covered by the civil service system.

Thus, our recent convention had before it a record of substantial progress. While this was gratifying, the delegates looked to the future, and they examined and took action on a number of important problems.

Because the Presidential emergency board which considered our wage dispute last year failed to in-

crease wages sufficiently to bring them up to wages for comparable work in other industries, as well as the further lag which now exists, the convention adopted a resolution directing the launching of a national movement to obtain a further increase in wage rates.

A problem which received careful consideration was the decline in employment and the instability of employment brought about by improved technology on the one hand and the uneconomical use of labor by management on the other. Action was taken to bring about the stabilization of employment among the maintenance of equipment forces as soon as practicable.

Since the skills of the employees we represent are an important factor in the efficient operation of the railroads, as well as the basis of improving the wages and working conditions of these employees, the convention urged the continued improve-

ment of our apprenticeship program.

The convention also acted to improve the railroad retirement system and adopted a resolution supporting the enactment of H.R. 9065 amending the Retirement Act to provide for a 15 per cent increase in benefits, with the increase in taxes from 6¼ per cent to 7¼ per cent to be offset by excluding the entire tax paid by the employees from gross income in computing income taxes.

While the railroad workers we represent face a variety of problems, the Railway Employees Department looks to the future with confidence.



Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Policies of the AFL-CIO were explained and the need for a stepped-up drive for COPE dollars was clarified at a meeting of representatives of forty-five directly affiliated locals in Indiana. The meeting was called by Hugh Gormley, regional director of organization. Main speakers were George K. Reese, an assistant AFL-CIO director of organization, and Darrell D. Smith, director of COPE Region 4.

►Higher wages and improvements in the vacation, arbitration and other contract clauses feature a new two-year agreement negotiated by Local 246 of the Teamsters and Washington, D. C., dairies. The membership ratified the new pact by a vote of 1,443 to 292. Pay is boosted 10 cents an hour the first year and will rise an additional 7 cents the second year.

►A new safety record has been set at the American Oil Company refinery in Texas City, Tex., through the co-operation of Local 4-449, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and the company. The refinery has been awarded three plaques marking 1,805,602 man-hours worked without a disabling accident.

►The second national conference of the Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee will be held July 28 and 29 at the Hotel Statler in New York City. Principal item on the agenda will be the proposal for merger with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

►The Georgia Federation of Labor has elected William A. Cetti of Atlanta as its new president. He succeeds J. B. Pate, who resigned. Mr. Cetti, a veteran of trade unionism in Georgia, has been president of Local 193 of the Painters for thirty-three years.

►Local 176 of the Stone and Allied Products Workers has won an election at the Alpena, Mich., plant of the Huron Portland Cement Company.

►Directly Affiliated Local 21108 has won wage increases which will total 17 cents an hour in a two-year contract with M. P. Moller Company, Inc., manufacturers of organs at Hagerstown, Md. Health and welfare payments by the employer will amount to 1¾ cents an hour. The company agreed to put union labels on its products, it was announced by Richard W. Souders, the union's business representative.

►Directly Affiliated Local 20581 of Keyport, N. J., has obtained a wage increase in a new contract with the Architectural Tiling Company, Inc. The agreement also extends vacations and increases the amount of life insurance on each employee by \$500.

►Vigilance by the Ladies' Garment Workers has thwarted an attempt of the P-Jay Manufacturing Company to run away from unionization. Despite the fact that a majority of its employees had joined the union, the Pottstown, Pa., firm refused to negotiate and, under cover of darkness, moved to Middletown, Del. There it found that union organizers had convinced the workers that they should insist on a union contract. The firm then capitulated.

►Local 17 of the Chemical Workers, Grafton, Ill., in a new two-year contract with the Illinois Powder Manufacturing Company, has gained hourly wage increases for the employees which will total 20 cents an hour.

Maritime Department Names Harry O'Reilly

HARRY E. O'REILLY, who was national director of organization of the American Federation of Labor from 1948 until the merger, has been elected secretary-treasurer of the Maritime Trades Department of the AFL-CIO. He was named by the Executive Board at a meeting in Chicago.

Mr. O'Reilly is a widely known veteran of the labor movement. A member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, he served as the AFL's regional director of organization in the Middle West for many years, with headquarters in Chicago, before his appointment as national director of organization eight years ago. His duties took him to every section of the United States. He has addressed scores of labor conventions.

He took over his new post as secretary-treasurer of the Maritime Trades Department on July 16. He will make his headquarters in the Department's modern suite of offices in the new AFL-CIO Building in Washington.



Harry E. O'Reilly

Mr. O'Reilly succeeds E. L. Slaughter, secretary-treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen, who had been filling the post temporarily. Harry Lundeborg, president of the Seafarers International Union, is president of the Department.

Chartered in 1946, the Maritime Trades Department coordinates the efforts of its nine affiliated international unions in matters of mutual concern. The affiliated organizations operate at sea and along the waterfront.

►Resista
largest
firm in
The An
have sig
neman,
provides
an hour
firm's
Delawan

►Higher
and cle
nine loc
contract
chains o
bara, Ca
The co
Rexall, V

►A 20-c
two-year
by Dire
22177, M
and rep
Michiga

Sm

Congres
small bus
when repo
failures ha
fifteen year
up 14 per
most all th
concerns,
bilities ovr
ent. This
ing trend
poly contr
bigger, the

More th
commercial
cent tidal
greater eco
few corpor
essential t
Looking i
mittee staf
self isn't l
tration ten
off the co
businessme

The tren
tions indu
the recent
General T
close to the
rapidly in
owns 90 pe
of the U.S.
the "indep

AUGUST,

►Resistance to unionization by the largest unorganized men's clothing firm in the United States has ended. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have signed a contract with J. Schoeneman, Inc., of Baltimore. The pact provides a wage increase of 12½ cents an hour for 2,000 employees in the firm's five plants in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland.

►Higher hourly pay for pharmacists and clerks has been established by nine locals of the Retail Clerks in a contract negotiated with four drug chains operating between Santa Barbara, Calif., and the Mexican border. The companies involved are Owl-Rexall, Whelan, Thrifty and Sav-On.

►A 20-cent hourly package over a two-year period has been negotiated by Directly Affiliated Local Union 22177, Detroit, for 2,600 installation and repair men employed by the Michigan Consolidated Gas Company.

►Local 288, International Union of Electrical Workers, Springfield, Mass., has obtained an 11-cent hourly wage increase, to supplant a 6-cent hike, in an extension of its contract with the plastics division of Monsanto Chemical. The revised pact calls for an additional increase next year.

►Local 1, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, St. Louis, has obtained wage increases and other advances in a two-year contract with the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation.

►Six locals of the Operative Potters have obtained wage increases in a master agreement with the American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation.

►Local 4670 of the Steelworkers has obtained a 26-cent hourly package in a two-year agreement reached at the Aircraft Division of the Rheem Manufacturing Company, Downey, Calif.



Thomas A. Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, was reelected at the ninety-third annual convention. He told the delegates that merger of the AFL and CIO state bodies will be achieved before long. The convention was addressed by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and other leading labor and government figures.

►Local 112, Firemen and Oilers, has won an NLRB election at the Grandin Company, Jamestown, N. Y.

From Other Labor Publications

Small Business Suffers

From The CWA News

Congressional concern for the welfare of small business was proved to be justified when reports came in showing that business failures have reached their highest level in fifteen years—1170 failures in one month, up 14 per cent. Significantly enough, almost all the failures were among the smaller concerns. Failures among firms with liabilities over \$100,000 are almost non-existent. This shows another view of the growing trend toward centralization and monopoly control. The big concerns are getting bigger, the small ones are failing.

More than 3,000 industrial firms and 800 commercial banks have vanished in the recent tidal wave of mergers, concentrating greater economic power in the hands of a few corporations, lessening the competition essential to our free enterprise economy. Looking into this matter, a Senate committee staff finds that, while bigness of itself isn't harmful, large industrial concentration tends to create conditions which kill off the competitive efforts of independent businessmen.

The trend is evident in the communications industry. In telephones, for instance, the recent merger of the Gaty interests with General Telephone resulted in a combine close to the billion dollar mark—and headed rapidly in that direction. While AT&T owns 90 per cent of the telephone facilities of the U.S., there is also concentration in the "independent" branch of the industry.

Well over half the independent phone equipment is in the hands of six large corporations. The remainder is shared by 4,491 other companies, many of them small, but some of them being rather substantial operations.

Twenty Years

From Ohio CIO News and Views

Recently, in celebrations across the country, the UAW observed its twentieth anniversary. And here is how UAW President Walter Reuther described what the UAW has meant to its members during these twenty years:

"Tens of thousands of faceless, nameless clock card members who twenty years ago were just little cogs in a great production machine are today people with a sense of belonging, with a sense of worth and with a voice in the development of the industrial democracy that we are building in America's great industries. This is really our contribution."

Today the average hourly rate for auto workers is about \$2.20. They have reemployment rights. Their families are covered by hospitalization and surgical insurance. Pensions range up to \$240 a month. But the real achievement is that the auto worker today is no longer treated like a machine or a number. He has won, through his union, the status of a human being who now enjoys a fuller measure of economic and social justice.

Political Cannibalism

From Justice

This is a most dangerous age for freedom. Political cannibalism is rampant in Communist Russia. The text of the speech by Communist party chief Nikita Khrushchev attacking Stalin, while it documents many of the crimes with which the free world also has long charged the Russians, proves the horrible truth that the perpetrators of those crimes are now the rulers of Russia, that these murderers have been able to survive in powerful positions only because there is as little freedom in Russia under their rule as under the Stalinist regime of which they were a part.

If instead of indecision and confusion in the conduct of our international relations we had exercised daring and imagination, this certainly would have been the time in which to hit the Russians on every one of their vulnerable admissions.

Louisiana Repeal

From The Railway Clerk

The ranks of the "right to work" states against which organized labor has been pounding since 1947 finally have been broken with a stunning labor victory in Louisiana, whose "right to work" law has just been repealed.

The Louisiana victory may signal a renewed effort by trade unionists in other states who are battling against such laws.

WHAT THEY SAY

Adlai E. Stevenson, former Governor of Illinois—We are for a country



in which the schools are worthy of the children and adequately staffed by teachers supported as their honored profession merits. We are for a country

where no man's home is blighted by smoke, dirt and noise, and cut off from sunlight, trees and air. We are for a country where no family lives in dread of crippling disease that adds to the pain of the stricken the fear of intolerable expense.

We are for a country where older people are not doomed to live out their last, empty years with only the solace of a small pension. We are for a country where all of our people can work under fair labor standards, and where responsible unionism is encouraged by laws that guarantee free collective bargaining.

We are for a country where we defend the liberties of all by defending the liberties of each, where the Bill of Rights and the Golden Rule are part of our being, where there is freedom to think, to speak, to doubt and dissent, and to be yourself.

And we are for a country where no family's aspirations are bounded by unyielding barriers of race or religious prejudice.

James B. Carey, president, International Union of Electrical Workers—



Automation is not merely an extension of machine production. It is, rather, as great a revolution as machine production itself. While machine production displaces

some workers, automation could displace *most* workers. We are faced with serious problems. We should request joint management-labor committees to study the problems arising, insisting that in any case management furnish us with full information in

advance of the technological change.

Industry faces a problem, too. What value is it to employers if they perfect automation and find themselves with no customers?

The problem of old-age security was met by labor's pioneering in pensions. The problem of periodic mass unemployment will be met by labor's pioneering in guaranteed annual wages. And the threat of robot factories will be met—and solved—by the same kind of intellectual courage and moral militancy that labor has displayed in the past.

William L. McFetridge, president, Building Service Employees International Union—



Preventive medicine has become as important as curative medicine. Keeping people from getting sick has become at least as

important as curing them after they become sick. The same advance has been made in the field of trade unionism. A few years ago people thought of a union as entirely a matter of clearing up poor working conditions—winning strikes and battles for higher pay and better worker treatment. Today this concept of trade unionism has expanded to see the union as a force for maintaining good conditions and preventing trouble, looking ahead to meet future problems and creating the climate of labor-management partnership in which frequent work stoppages become unnecessary.

Preventive unionism is something more than putting on boxing gloves for a periodic slugging match with a belligerent adversary. Preventive unionism establishes the avenues of communication, the frank discussion of all problems, resulting in higher pay and better working conditions. Recognition that the long-range interests of both labor and management depend on the successful operation of the enterprise has opened ways in which the union serves its own members, workers generally and the nation.

Just as we do not judge the value of a police department by the number of arrests made, we should not judge the importance of a union by the number of strikes called. The crimes prevented and the strikes made unnecessary are even more important.

John F. Kennedy, Senator from Massachusetts—To me America is



primarily a spiritual conception. She affirms spiritual values and has faith that there is a spiritual order. Every human being has possibilities different from every

other, and American democracy is intended and designed to give to each of us the fullest opportunity to realize those possibilities in his search for that everlasting order. Free democratic institutions are part of that opportunity. The Bill of Rights is there to protect it. A free press is essential to it. American law, with its meticulous concern for individual justice, is part of it. American education, which insists that every child shall be able to inform himself and use his mind, is necessary to it.

Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State—The new Soviet leaders seem



to me every bit as ruthless and dangerous as the old ones. It was not Stalin's revolutionary fervor which made him dangerous but the imperialistic ambitions held by a

competent autocracy in possession of a powerful country. In this respect the new leaders seem to be no different. There has been no change in the basic fact of the mid-Twentieth Century—the great and growing productive power of the Soviet Union.

Once we understand the fundamental challenge which the growth of Communist power presents, and once we adopt the attitudes of mind which the situation requires, we are ready to work out with others the steps to be taken to provide the growth of counter-power. The base of it will be productive power.